

resources of the society and the culture
of its people.²⁸

2. As a political appointee, the Ministers of Education should be concerned about the political impact of the ministry's programs and proposals.²⁹

3. Reform efforts must contend with a formidable array of actual and potential obstacles, including entrenched resistance on the part of those who believe that any serious attention of the elitism of the present university-oriented system may work to their disadvantage, recurrent eruptions and disruptions stemming from the increased politicization of education concerns, and the difficulties involved in drawing on the offerings of an international supermarket, so to speak, while trying to build up the inventories of one's own productive resources.³⁰

Analyses by Marvin Brant

Marvin Brant, in his article on recent economic development in Chapter VI of Afghanistan in the 1970s, examined Afghanistan's economic plans from two main points of view.

1. The quantitative growth in national production or national expenditure.
2. The capacity of management of a self-sustaining economy.

²⁸Ibid., p. 194.

²⁹Ibid., p. 193.

³⁰Ibid., p. 195.

Brant argued that since 1957 (the beginning of economic planning and foreign aid programs), considerable amount of time, money and technical assistance has been geared toward economic development in Afghanistan, but the results are quite disappointing in terms of the resources spent and the degree of self-generating national economic production.³¹ He indicated that economic development in any society reflects the socio-political settings under which the particular society operates. In Afghanistan as political leadership calls on tribal and family oriented lineages the consequences have dominant impact on maturation of a national economic development.³²

Therefore, he wrote,

The weakness of these indigenous determinants of economic growth has contributed to a less satisfactory economic performance than might have been expected from the large amount of foreign assistance given to Afghanistan during its three development plan, spanning the years from 1957-1972.³³ (See Table 10, page 104).

Shortcomings in the Development Efforts

1. Lack of national accounting not only for measurement of development, but also for collecting data for planning is a great obstacle for scientific research especially in reference to national income or its

³¹ Marvin Brant, Afghanistan in the 1970s, ed. by Louis Dupree, et al. (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. 92.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

components. All figures are guesses and estimates.³⁴

2. Lack of efficient use of foreign aid by Afghan planners have declined the foreign aid up to 50 percent since 1965.³⁵

3. Poor design of inventory have resulted with construction of project such as Kandahar airport (built by USA) and Mahipar hydroelectric dam built by West Germany, might never be productive.³⁶

4. Low production of food, grain by 1.5% annually.³⁷

5. As a result of poor over-all performance of the productive sectors, national income has increased at an annual rate of perhaps 3% over the past ten years, and this rate undoubtedly has been less in the past five years than it was earlier, barely keeping up with the estimated population growth of 2 to 2.5%. And even these figures disguise the failure of the development program to improve the lines of the vast majority of the Afghans living in the rural areas.³⁸

6. An important and increasingly visible problem is the failure to create sufficient employment opportunity for the growing population. The labor force is currently increasing by at least 100,000 annually. The stagnant economy is not able to absorb more than a fraction of these entrants. Of special importance is the failure to provide employment opportunities for the graduates of secondary schools, high schools, trade schools, and Kabul University.³⁹

³⁴Ibid., p. 95.

³⁵Ibid., p. 103.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., p. 104.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., p. 105.

Proposals

Feasibility of planning, adequate management personnel, selection of priorities based on productivity of the projects rather than size, improvement of public administration and bureaucracy, equality of criterion reward and punishment system and balance of distribution of projects in different provinces, are some of the important proposals that Brant offered for mobilization of the productive resources as a head start until it reaches the self-generating level.⁴⁰

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 91-112.

TABLE 11

SOME ACCOMPLISHMENTS DURING THE FIRST THREE PLANS (1957-1972)

Item	1956 ^a	1961 ^a	1965 ^a	1971 ^a	Percentage Increase 1956-71
<u>Production</u>					
Cotton cloth (1,000 meters)	15,405.0	27,234.0	66,000	62,000	402
Rayon Cloth (1,000 meters)	2.5	267.9	1,304	10,547	4,218
Woolen cloth (1,000 meters)	243.3	157.0	463	284. ^c	117
Cement (metric tons)	---	40,169.0	174,000	73,000	---
Soap (1,000 cakes)	1,086.0	2,589.5	1,400	4,000	368
Sugar (metric tons)	4,757.0	4,844.0	7,100	8,500	179
Coal (metric tons)	28,908.0	66,484.0	161,600	135,000	467
Electricity (production in million KWH)	47.18 ^b	126.78	286.3	422.6	896
Natural gas (million cubic meters)	---	---	253 ^c	2,635	---
Leather shoes (1,000 pairs)	---	25.2	107.6	217.0	---
Vegetable oil (1,000 tins)	---	1.5	3.4	4.0	---
<u>Education</u>					
Number of schools	804	1,436	2,298	3,963	493
Number of teachers	4,007	5,983	9,824	20,744	518
Number of students	126,092	235,301	443,459	711,670	564
Number of Univ. students	874	1,987	3,571	8,415	963

TABLE 11 (Continued)

Item	1956 ^a	1961 ^a	1966 ^a	1971 ^a	Percentage Increase 1956-71
<u>Health</u>					
Number of doctors	149	250	527	757	
Number of hospital beds	1,380	1,759	2,197	3,322	
<u>Other</u>					
Industrial employment	---	18,169 ^d	24,690	26,699	
Imports of chemical fertilizers (tons)	---	5,000	10,000	40,311	
Motor vehicles registered in Kabul	---	16,363 ^d	45,102	52,419	

^aThe Afghan calendar year begins March 21 and ends March 20. For example, 1956 is equivalent to Afghan year 1335 which began March 21, 1956 and ended March 20, 1957.

b1957

c1967

d1962

Source: Ministry of Planning Survey of Progress reports, 1961-62, 1967-68, and 1971-72.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter contains three sections: First is the summary of development of modern educational institutions in Afghanistan and the internal and external factors contributing to its qualitative and quantitative dimension; second, the present social problems and prospects and the role of education as a cultural tool and scientific tool for development in justifying the scope and degree of change has been identified and concluded; in the third part, based on the present problems and prospects, a series of institutional and educational changes, focusing on the child's social and natural needs for survival and coexistence have been recommended.

The purpose of the recommendation is to change Afghan schools from self-defeating and stagnant systems to a system through which individuals and societal needs could be assisted and significant momentum in economic development could be achieved.

Summary

The geographical location and environment of Afghanistan has played a strong role in the historical development of this ancient nation. The plains, valleys and mountains, at times, have served as centers for development of advanced cultures and at times as highways of conquests. Building ideas and melting them with others have made Afghanistan a melting pot in the central mountains of Asia. The Greeks, the Indians, the Arabs, the Mongols, the British and the Tzars were among the most influential external factors shaping the Afghan culture and destiny. During the twentieth century, the World Wars and the Cold War between the East and West Blocks have been shaping the current patterns of development in modern Afghanistan.

Regaining independence in 1919, a constitutional government, socio-political reforms and introduction of formal education were among the first socio-political developments in the third decade of the century, from 1919 to 1929 under the leadership of King Ammanullah.

The second drastic move toward modernization was during the 1950s and 1960s which utilized the Cold War for Afghanistan's economic development lead by Prime Minister Daoud (currently President of the Republic of Afghanistan).

In Chapter II, the educational boom enforced by foreign aid was presented. The extension of Kabul

University from just a few colleges to over fourteen colleges; the establishment of over 3,000 new schools between 1945 and 1970; the increase of student enrollment from 60,000 to 700,000; and likewise the growth of teachers from 2,000 to 20,000 with over 5,000 graduates educated abroad were among the drastic educational developments achieved through the second phase of the modernization. However, as mentioned in Chapter IV, the post World War II economic and educational developments brought Afghanistan into a new stage of social developments.

Socio-economic and political conflicts, which have created inequality of employment and educational opportunities, deficiency in economic planning, low pace of economic production, superiority and inferiority conflicts among the diverse nationalities, concentration of employment, education and social services in Kabul--were some of the unhealthy developments in the 1950s and 1960s which dominate the current social life in Afghanistan.

A review of related research presented in Chapter V by UNESCO and three other social scientists indicated that:

1. Many underdeveloped countries in Asia share common social, political and economic problems in their course of development.
2. Much of the economic problems in these countries are results from lack of flexibility of their socio-political institutions which are mostly based on limited goals and interests.

3. Lack of relevance of school curricula to the environmental needs and job market along with concentration of educational opportunity to privileged minorities of the society has limited the maximum impact of formal education on national development.
4. Serious readjustment in organization, planning and processing based on national needs and resources are necessary for the underdeveloped nations of Asia.

L. Dupree; M. Brant; and W. Sayer's findings in regard to the new socio-economic and educational problems affecting economic development and positive social changes in Afghanistan are quite similar in nature, but with different scopes. Basically they could be summarized as:

Political. (a) Limitation and monopoly of authority for major national decisions by a kinship and tribal oriented political structure; (b) Concentration of socio-political and economic opportunity in the capital city; and (c) Lack of national unity driven from internal colonialism and social inequality.

Social. (a) Inward-looking social psychology; (b) Passive social participation driven from superiority and inferiority complexes; and (c) Low pace of social mobility.

CHAPTER II

SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Introduction

Afghanistan is the homeland of poets, scholars, scientists and writers who through the last four thousand years have made a glorious history and a rich culture for this nation. Zoroaster, a philosopher from Bulkh (1000 B.C.), Mawlana-i-Bulkhi (poet), Alberuni (mathematician) and Sayed-i-Afghani (philosopher) are among the hundreds of well known stars who led and assisted the course of intellectual development through the history of the nation.

Schools and universities are not new phenomena in Afghanistan. Bulkh and Herat cities have been the centers for scholars for centuries. The strategic and geographic location historically has forced Afghanistan to encounter each conqueror who crossed it to invade India. Meanwhile, these encounters were accompanied with cultural influences which enriched and enhanced the native cultural patterns. The Greek, Buddhist and Arab encounters have left significant impacts in the development of science and ways of life in Afghanistan.

Economic. (a) Inadequate coordination of economic plans with the Afghan agricultural economy; (b) Unrealistic identification of national economic needs and domestic resources; and (c) Ignorance of the peasants and rural life by economic planners.

Professional. (a) Lack of systematic planning; (b) Lack of accurate census and statistics; (c) Lack of trained managerial personnel; and (d) Lack of skilled manpower.

Educational. (a) Over politicization of education; (b) Lack of articulation of school curricula with economic plans, job market and individual and societal needs; (c) Encyclopedic-oriented curricula; (d) Learning methods based on memorization; (e) Extremity and unequal distribution of educational facilities and opportunities between Kabul city and the rest of the nation; (f) Too academic and literacy-centered curricula; and (g) Rigid criteria for reward and occupation which limits parents and students to become fully motivated or involved with school and education.

Conclusions

Formal educational institutions are segments of social, political and economical establishments of the society.

The criteria, system and norms of social control, conditions the quality, quantity and pace of development of formal education.

Related research supported that the criteria and system of social control in Afghanistan is under the authority of a minority of elites in Kabul and are based on kinship, tribal and other limited values and interests which leaves the bulk of the population including parents, teachers and students beyond any option or control over the type of education that they need, want, and deserve.

Related research also supports that socio-political inequality, government suppression of the intelligentsia, internal colonialism, monopoly of authority for decision-making are some of the key factors irritating a healthy development of the economy and education in Afghanistan.

In the presence of social inequality and repression, state sponsored education serves as one of the means for social control besides laws and the gens d'armes. The knowledge, skills, values and attitudes exerted in the school curricula achieve nothing more than further institutionalization of the authority of the ruling power in the minds of the new generation.

As W. Sayers indicated, creativity, individual thinking, decision-making, problem solving, building new thoughts and concepts which make learning the most

enjoyable process of life are almost unknown in Afghanistan's school system. Afghan youth for almost two generations have been used as mobile tape recorders, remembering multiple encyclopedic information and values which gradually transforms them as followers rather than leaders.

To some degree, the suppression of the youth by school curricula stems from Afghan culture and family life which puts the higher authority on seniority and age rather than creativity, originality, effectiveness and competency performed by individuals. These deficiencies of home and school learnings prolong the process of self-realization and maturation for Afghan youth. Often they find themselves in the position that decisions are already made for them or are waiting for someone else to decide or judge their decisions. Confusion and lack of self confidence or self worth resulted from the kind of school and home learning mentioned before, creates a large gap between physical maturation and mental maturation among the Afghan youth. This results with the development of weak personalities which often is shown in the first major decision that Afghan youth make. For example, marriage: Over ninety-five percent of first marriages are arranged by parents or other adults in the family, and the youth, aside from sexual stimulus, have no control or understanding of other dimensions of such a commitment. Reaching mental maturation often results in dissatisfaction

within the new family and with the presence of male domination, remarriage or polygamy is performed; of course that depends on the social and economic potential and security of the family. In any event, it is at this point that the real value and importance of education could be observed and tested in the real life performance. It is also at this point that education should assist individuals and societies to overcome their needs and problems most comfortably and satisfactorily. It is at this point that tradition should leave its place to science and humanity. Formal education should help the new generations build new communities and institutions where all members could utilize the resources efficiently and maintain a happy and comfortable life without being ignored, oppressed or abused.

To what extent planned curricula, planned education and finally, government sponsored education have focused on these kinds of individual and societal needs is a paradox to the students, parents and teachers and other mass illiterate population. To find the exact answer requires long range specific empirical research. On the basis of the findings of this study and the related research presented in Chapter V, the overall result of formal education in Afghanistan which is assumed to produce a positive, competent, and productive youth is unsatisfactory. The goal and content of the curricula are based on the needs and interests of the elite rather

than the needs, problems and interests of the Afghan society.

When school learning is not modifiable, applicable or relevant to the potentials, needs and interests of a child and his social environment, no one can be certain that learning has occurred because learning is preceded by motivation, communication, interaction and actualization. On the other hand, the quality of what is learned, what potentials are gained by students is determined not by mastery of the content of a curricula, but by the effectiveness and usefulness of the performance of the learned subject in individual and social interaction. Use of physical punishment in the condition of low performance or absence from the classroom on one hand, evaluation based on memorization on the other, put the whole issue beyond pedagogical discussion.

The strict censorship of the press and publicity has made the educational process a one way communication from the top to the bottom and has prevented the teaching personnel from giving feed-back basis upon which reprogramming and readjustments could be maintained. This quietness and lack of communication in understanding and change in different processes of education has been leading the whole system to a long range stagnation. But, stagnation is a conditional phase in the society. Would this stagnation result to a major drop in the student enrollment? Would it result with collective reaction

from the teachers or parents? Would the Kabul elite enlarge their horizons to reach all corners of the nation or would the mass public lead by the frustrated intelligentsia reorganize the power structure?--all are visable challenges of the 1980s which might bring drastic changes in the socio-political institutions of Afghanistan. Maybe then, a new educational system based on the dbmestic needs, problems and miseries of Afghan society might be reincarnated.

Recommendations for Educational Changes

Prior to the presentation of recommendations, it needs to be emphasized that the possibility of application of such changes requires prerequisite changes in the role and characteristics that Afghan schools currently play in the society. As presented and discussed in previous chapters, Afghan schools have been strangled between the conflicting socio-political pressures developed strongly in the 1960s and 1970s. To further clarify the problem, it needs to be stated that Afghan students, after twelve years of school attendance, do not reach their goals. Parents who send their children are equally disappointed when their children face such inconveniences of life. It also needs to be emphasized that since the early stages of the foundation of formal education (1919), the government has been the main employer of the educated personnel. However, recently government arguments and responses

to 70 percent unemployment among high school graduates are that they do not have employable skills--only literacy skills with general academic information is not enough to perform professional jobs, aside from administrative jobs which have already been overly filled.

Such an argument to blame the students for lack of employable skills actually is blaming the victim. This problem becomes doubly enlarged when the new graduates face the same incompetent feeling in the family and community where they live. What new techniques, skills and knowledge have they gained from school to assist and increase production in the family, village or province of which they live? As mentioned in Chapter IV, 85 percent of the private economy is based on farming, animal husbandry and light domestic industry which mainly requires practical skills rather than the ability to read and write. When school learning is not applicable in the individual, family or community life, when education does not improve the life condition of the students, when the young generation could not maintain a successful and productive life in societal development, what purpose does school and literacy serve? It is at this point that formal education, as a means of societal development, becomes critical and important. It is at this point that educational planning and curricula programming becomes the most important process of social development. Finally, it is at this

point that drastic changes and readjustments need to take place.

Change could only occur if those who have the power and authority would need and feel the necessity for change. Lack of change, despite such problems and needs, shows that the Kabul elite who have the control and authority do not feel the need for change or maybe the current conditions are already convenient for their needs and interests. Therefore, the following is necessary:

1. To bring a fundamental educational change where the young generation could develop the necessary knowledge, skills, behavior and competencies for improving their lives and utilizing the resources of their environment.
2. To make formal education a prosperous means for national development.
3. To make schools an ideal and interesting learning environment for the new generations.
4. To make teaching a humanistic contribution of the teachers to the children of their nation.
5. To make textbooks an interesting, reliable and worthwhile printed material.
6. To make administration and supervision a source of feed-back, guidance and leadership for maintaining and improving learning conditions in the schools
7. To make evaluation a continuous process for need assessment, readjustment and development rather than blaming the victim.

8. To make schools a place where students, teachers, parents and the government can reach their goals equally and satisfactorily, the Afghan society needs to create new social conditions under which such demands could be achieved. That is, that the authority and power invested in the government should represent public needs and demands--not just a minority of elites.

Politically, it was fortunate that the transition from monarchy to Republic Regime was made peacefully under the leadership of President Daoud in the Military Coup d' etat of 1973. But the hierarchy of power, the criteria for power distribution and decision-making are still dominated by certain families and ethnic groups, which allows fascistic segments in the power structure to irritate the growth of a democratic and pluralistic republic in which all people have the power of decisions--not a minority of elite. Although the republic government during the last five years has taken drastic steps to democratize those privileges which have jammed the wheels of development in Afghanistan, there is much more which needs to be done and a longer time seems necessary. In other words, a democratic, realistic and effective system of education could only emerge under the leadership of a democratic socio-political structure representing the needs, priorities and interests of all citizens of the society. As the

republic regime passes its early years of life, national unity, social inequality, freedom of press and political parties, stagnation of the national economy, political solidarity in the region, institutionalization of the new regime, the demands and pressures of the intelligentsia for autonomy and legitimacy, competition and survival in the international political and economic struggle are some of the immediate foreign and domestic needs and problems that need to be faced. What socio-political changes and development would be achieved from this encounter and experience, will set the basis for the characteristics, components, quality and quantity of educational changes in Afghanistan.

Proposals for a Systematic Need
Centered Education

Philosophy: Man is a living being:

Child is a new member of human society. The newcomer could be a strong hope or could be a great danger as well, depending on the preparation of the community and family that he or she is born to. In human society, some kill or prevent the unborn child from coming while others make exciting preparations for the newcomer. At this point we do not know much about the newcomer except that he or she has an immediate need to live. The experience with past newcomers has shown that they do have the same needs, potentials and wants that other members of a community do.

With the discovery of sea routes, Afghanistan gradually became isolated from international channels and became a "buffer-state" between the Russians to the north and the British Empire in India to the south. Thus, the external pressures of imperial powers prior to World War I and the Cold War afterwards, have been suppressing a healthy social, political and economical development in Afghanistan.

International developments after World War II, the emergence of new powers and the competition of the USSR and the United States in the Cold War in Asia built a new bridge between this land-locked nation and the world outside. Large amounts of foreign aid and assistance crossed through the new bridge and have resulted in new social, political and economical developments in Afghanistan.

These internal and external socio-political factors which have contributed to the social changes and educational developments will be reviewed and presented in chronological order in this chapter.

Pre-Islamic Era

As man became able to realize his needs, identify the resources and develop the means to meet those needs, he took the first steps toward the mastery of a civilized life. Thus, started the phenomenon of knowledge and

Community and the Nature of Man

Community is unity of two or countless human beings in struggle for survival, which is the nature of man. Mankind, from very early appearance on Earth has been in constant need for food and proper climate in order to live and reproduce as other living beings. But, man with the most proper physical structure for work and mental potentials for identification, utilization and control of his needs, has been able not only to live and reproduce but to secure his life and other members of his kind by producing food and defending himself from other dangers of life, such as severe climate, floods, earthquakes, volcanoes, attack of other animals, microbes and viruses or other deficiencies and diseases threatening his existence. Naturally, man is in a constant need to remain alive and struggle, production and control are his natural characteristics. Every man in every part of the world in each day of his life, has been moving and functioning on the basis of these natural motives. It is these natural incentives of man which has caused inventions, discoveries in science, technology and civilization.

Man is a Social Specie

Second to the natural needs and motives, man has social needs and motives. The need to reproduce and live with other men sharing the same potentials, needs and resources are the social drives, motives and challenges

in human life. To accommodate individual needs and survival man realized that the work of two men produces twice as much than that of one man. Both driven by the need for more production and more security began to communicate. The power of communication and articulation of human potentials in the struggle for survival are the basis for the foundation of communities in human society: Families, villages, towns, cities, nations, systems, regulations, laws and institutions are all norms, means and resources that human beings developed as they came along the common struggle for survival and security. All social, political and economical institutions in today's communities and nations of the world are based on the human need for survival and coexistence.

How successful and satisfactorily each society could maintain these social needs for survival and coexistence, and what means and resources they have developed for assisting their natural and social needs, is the answer for the creation of all ideologies, religions, cultures, wars, and other interactions of man in the universe.

Success and satisfaction for maintenance of secure life in human communities are conditional perceptions. It changes its degree and meaning with time, and whatever is associated with time, such as experience, knowledge, science and technology, which are all human potentials for control over conditions of survival and

security. Along with time, human natural and social needs changes in capacity and intensity. It changes its intensity because population increases or newcomers arrive. The changes in diversity of human needs are based on the evolution of human knowledge and potential for survival. As human needs become more and more diversified and intensified, the resources, services and opportunities for survival becomes more scarce and challenging. Scarcity and the need for survival forces mankind to use their potentials to create further opportunities and means for common survival. Some, by turning productive resources into private property and establishing strict laws, authorities and regulations add to their security. Some others think of the possibilities of efficient utilization of resources and create efficient means and systems of production to compensate group survival. In both cases, the main objectives are: how efficient individuals and societies can live? how much more means and resources could be discovered so man can have a peaceful life on Earth?

At this point, human communities need to be studied separately which are called nations. Nations are differed from each other by certain rules and regulations under which citizens could maintain a productive and secure life. The quality of socio-political systems in each society is determined by the scope and amount of security that they could provide for each member of their nation. The degree of quality and security of life

is called development. Development in a nation depends on the (1) amount of natural resources; (2) the degree of knowledge of the members of the society in regard to realization of their natural and social needs and resources; (3) efficiency of their means of production or technology; (4) qualification and skills for effective utilization of the resources for production; and management of division of labor, distribution and consumption.

In this phenomena of life, due to the geographical environment (natural resources, topography, climate, and location) and historical heritage, different nations have achieved different levels of development. Thereafter, nations concerning their degree of development are known as developed, developing and under-developed.

Development and Energy

Scientists claim that man has emerged on Earth after the Glacier Age about one million years ago. During this adventure, three major events occurred which brought drastic changes in human life in regards to survival, security and development:

- a. Invention of tools;
- b. Invention of written system of communication (3300 B.C.); and
- c. Invention of machine, 1769.

All three historical events brought major victories for man's utilization of natural resources, more and better

than before, because each event had enlarged the degree of impact of human energy on production and control of his environment.

Invention of tools, either in hunting, agriculture or defense from other animals increased man's potential for survival and security. The invention of the written system of communication, which is known as the beginning of civilized life, helped larger numbers of human beings to exchange ideas and establish larger communities in which accumulated manual energy was geared in either agricultural production or group defense from other animals or other offensive human communities.

The last and most drastic of all was the invention of the machine which not only ran by energies aside from manual energy, but assisted man to discover control and utilize greater sources of natural energies for taming the wild nature into the most convenient, productive and secure environment for life. Victory on natural energies have enabled man in the last 200 years to bring about drastic changes on the Earth that his ancestors were not able to do since the Glacier Age. Searching for more sources of survival and security with the help of technology, man of today explored to the deepest of the land and sea and the farthest parts of the universe that was never known before.

There is no doubt that man of today has reached to the peak of his potential when compared with the past.

But as mentioned before, man is challenged by another fellowman who also possesses the same potential.. The potential of destruction of his kind has become greater than ever before. Man has also destroyed his own kind much more than any other species in the universe. However, one source of hope always has had its magic results in human coexistence; that is communication and understanding which is the key to solving human conflict. This process of communication, understanding and change is called education.

As human civilization enters the fourth quarter of the twentieth century, despite the development of today's knowledge and potential, man needs more education or more communication and understanding than ever before, because their mistakes in solving their conflicts are not only destructive for a few nations but for all nations.

Formal Education

Formal education is an institutionalized means for control over the development of the potentials and behavior of the newcomers or new generation. It is an organized effort by the leading institutions or ruling powers of the society for creation of further opportunities for survival and security.

Functions of Formal Education

Regardless of when and where, formal education institutions serve two main functions in the society.

Orientation and adjustment to the present norms: The need for orientation and adjustment to the present norms stems from the need for conformity within the members of the society in regards to the means and method of struggle for survival. Because lack of conformity or social balance will result in conflicting struggle which jeopardizes individual and social security and survival.

Change and Development: Individuals and societies are in constant change toward development of more and efficient means and norms of production and creation of further chances of survival and security. Security is an ongoing control over the conditions of survival. Change and Development is caused by the constant evolution and maturation of scientific thoughts in the minds of the human beings. Scientific thoughts are the stage of knowledge and understanding of the most exact and real reasons of the natural and social phenomena affecting human life.

Therefore, the second function of formal education in the society is to prepare the new generation to change and improve the norms and means of survival that currently their society is functioning upon. This means to prepare the opportunity, means and resources so the new learners develop scientific understanding of themselves and their natural and social functions.

Functions of the Society

Society is composed of individuals; individuals are in constant need for production of the means of survival. Therefore society is an organization of individuals with common needs, environment and potentials. Its purpose is to maintain group survival and security. Society functions upon certain rules, regulations and norms established through the history by the members of the society to maintain social balance and conformity. The maintenance of social balance and conformity is performed by certain authorized institutions of the society known as government.

Depending on the resources, level of scientific knowledge and technology, the governments of each society maintain different degrees of security and survival for the members of the societies that they lead.

Crises in Social Control and Social Change

Crises in governments result from the deviations of the individual who performs government authority from the principles and purposes that governments naturally are based upon in the society.

As mentioned before, government is an institutionalized authority for control, application and readjustment of the norms, means, resources and distribution of production in the society.

The downfall of governments result from their failure to maintain social balance in the society, it

results from lack of communication and flexibility of their roles in regard to the function of governments in the society.

Crises emerge when governments approach society as a constant and rigid phenomenon rather than a changing one. The established rules and regulations become important to them rather than the changing people and their changing needs. It should be remembered that the nature of human needs which is survival does not change. But it is the diversity and intensity of survival and security which changes with time. Because as time goes, human beings gain further knowledge and develop greater potential for survival.

Social rules and regulations need to be readjusted as societies reach different phases of change. Social rules are valuable as long as they are effective in maintaining security in the society. Governments become ineffective when they fail to perform this natural function affecting society. Thus, they become alienated segments in the society and their function not only cannot provide security in the society, but they become dangerous challenges to the survival and security of the societies that they lead.

By using force rather than communication and readjustment they become a self-defeating and self-perpetuating social institution until their function and authority is removed from the society or from the world.

Government Survival

Three main principles are the key elements of survival of a healthy government in the society.

Ideology. Government's scientific realization of the function of the individuals and society with nature in regard to the needs for survival and security. How much the philosophy, ideology, and principles or constitution of the governments has considered this social phenomenon in maintenance of social balance and conformity is the first element of success, development and survival for the government and the society as well.

Organization. The second important role and function of the government is the performance and application of the above ideology in practice, which depends on how the government function is organized; how much government represents public and how much does it represent the authority for leading and controlling the public. What are the practical means and methods so that the public could control government from becoming an aggressive entity endangering social balance and security?

This means that the organization of the government should be established in such a way that while administering social authority, government also should represent public needs and demands too. In order to maintain the balance between dictatorship and anarchy, periodic elections in all leading branches of government actually

education as a means of survival and security in the human communities. As time passed the population grew and needs became stronger and more diversified; thus, the chances of survival became limited. Societies became aware of these facts of life and built institutions to train and equip the younger generations with new knowledge, skills and attitudes so they could meet their new problems more readily and efficiently.

Education, in a broad sense, such as methods of need-assessment, goes to the prehistoric ages when man started making tools for increasing the production and started to communicate. Prehistoric sites in Northern and Southern parts of Afghanistan have been discovered and the latest assumption for prehistoric life in Afghanistan¹ goes beyond 20,000 years.

Education in its specific sense, such as communicating thoughts and information in the written form, began in the early Aryans' communities in Northern Afghanistan.¹

The first important chronicle in Afghan history originated in 2,000 B.C. and is called Rig Veda.² Rig Veda is mostly religious poetry and verses, rather than historical clarification in regard to its time and

¹William Sayres, Afghanistan in the 1970s, ed. Louis Dupree, et al (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. 184.

²Mohammed Ali, Afghanistan: Land of Glorious Past and Bright Future (Kabul: Franklin Book Programs/Education Press, 1969), p. 52.

will serve as a safety valve for mutual control and impact of the government and people on each other in regard to healthy social development and social security. Such an organization of government will provide practical grounds and opportunities for both sides to consider social change as an ongoing phenomenon in human life and to deal with them as they come and go.

Personnel. The degree of performance and maintenance of social balance by government and society is based on the quality and competencies of the individuals assigned to perform certain roles in the government branches. Competencies and qualities of individuals depend on each society and the characteristics of their needs, resources and technology. Each community in the society have their own set of qualities and competencies for the roles and tasks performed in the process of production and survival.

Success and survival of the personnel depends on the effective performance of the role that they are assigned to. Would they see themselves as separate entities and authorities for social control or as members of society?

This question is the most mysterious and puzzling issue in human life. It varies from individual to individual. It is the moment that man makes the decision between greed and honesty. The fact that his decision

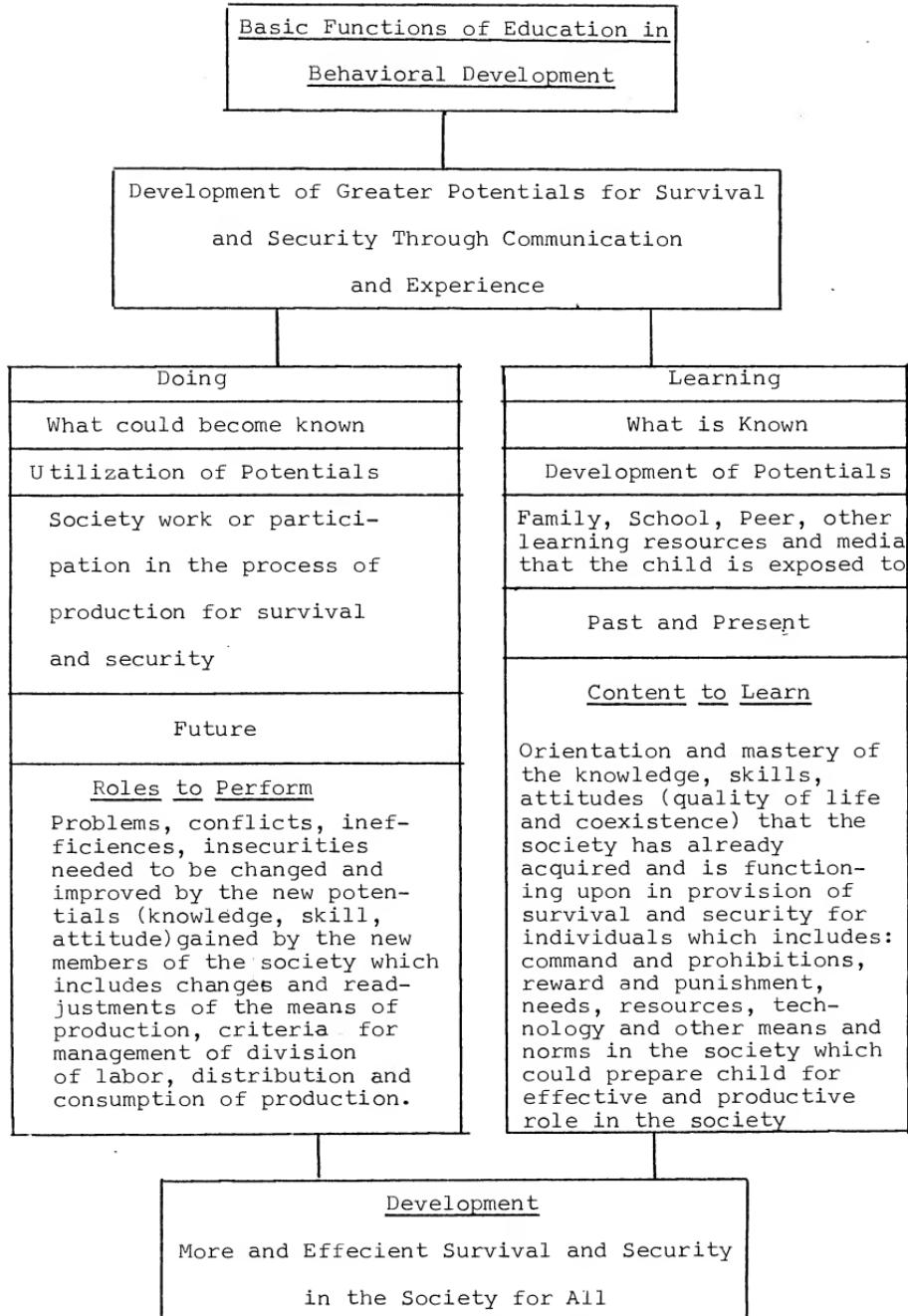
has strong impact on security and survival in the society makes politics a constructive or destructive practice in human life. The best way to avoid a failure and destruction is to build the safety valve/strong and keep it in operation.

Education and Social Change

Education as a potential for survival: Education is a broad concept. In general context it means the stage of knowledge where man develops the most effective potentials for manifestation of the means for sustaining life which covers all discoveries, inventions and developments of all fields of science in human history.

Education as an art: The art of transfer of knowledge and thoughts from one to another which requires communication skills and media. In this context education means mastery of certain thoughts, skills and values which produces certain changes in behavior either through experience or communication. The content of education is determined by human needs for survival and the scope and sequence of education are unlimited. In other words it is a life long process.

Education as social power: When certain knowledge, skills and attitudes become admired by most members of the society they become institutionalized and limited too. The result of such activity unifies group efforts and



provides larger potential for survival in the society and it becomes a social power.

Education as political power: Once the power of group education is realized in individual and group survival and change it is used as a cultural tool for controlling social balance and social changes. Since the authority of social control and leadership in the society has been invested in political institutions which is the government, the educational institution as means of control of the new generation became a part of the system of social control. At this time education does not contain the unlimited content and its effectiveness in individual and social life is limited and adjusted by the ideology, organization and manpower of the governments. An education system lead by the system of ruling institution of the society is called formal education.

Social Conflicts and Formal Education

Social conflict arises when the authority for social control is not able to maintain the balance, conformity and group survival in the society. Social conflict means inequality of potential for survival and security among the members of society. Depending on the degree of conflict or social inequality, the society became composed of antagonistic segments where the survival of one challenges the existence and survival of the other. In this social struggle all social power including

military weapons, education, criteria for reward and punishment available in the society are used by both parties as means of victory. In the presence of extreme conflict, victory means total removal of the authority and function of the opposite party. It either may result with emergence of a dictatorial government mainly based on military force or a democratic social system based on the survival of all members of the society. Victory of either group in the society depend directly on the degree of their influence on educational and other communicational media available in the society.

Crises in Formal Education

Unification of knowledge, skills and attitudes among the members of the society through formal education increases the potential of the individuals who have been exposed to such learning opportunity; however, the scope and effect of the outcome of such potentials, in regard to the social balance and coexistence, becomes limited to the goals and targets of the social authority which sponsors programs and facilitate such learning opportunities.

This condition becomes more critical when an aggressive government takes the control of the formal education and uses it for suppression of opposition even if it is the bulk of the population within the society or other nations of the world. In both cases, the outcome

of selected education or formal education would be destructive for social balance and coexistence. In such conditions, the content, skills and values exerted in school curricula will serve as a means for molding the potential and behavior of the subjects or students so they could not identify themselves with other members of the human society and their needs for survival and security; therefore, they become powerful tools for the survival and security of the ruling authorities. Limited values, such as race, ethnicity, language, religion, region and maybe nation would become their basis of social identification and pride. Once they become a mobile aggressive tool, communication, understanding and coexistence have no meaning or place in their pattern of life. Either in individual or group survival, force and destruction becomes their only means and method. In the presence of such socio-political conditions, not only formal educational institutions, but all communicational media and sources, regulation for command and prohibition, reward and punishment and all other sources for individual motivations will be used for creating illusion, insecurity, disintegration of community, cohesion, cooperation and conformity in the society. The only hope and source for individual survival becomes to fit and go along with the present norms. Once the authority and control of such aggressive powers becomes well established in the society, all resources and means of production will become concentrated

towards more means of destruction and aggression. Depending on the degree of resources and level of technology, the destructive encounter of such a society may challenge coexistence in other nations of the world. For example, domination of fascism of educational institutions and behavioral development of the young generation in Germany resulted in World War II and destruction of over thirty million human lives between 1939 and 1945. Concentration of the world's most modern and destructive weapons in the hands of aggressive nationalist governments in the Middle East is another alive destructive challenge which mainly have developed from domination^{ct. n.t.} _h ruling the minorities on the educational and communicational institutions.

To conclude this discussion, it should be emphasized that education, communication and understanding has always been the hope, source and means for peace and coexistence in human life. It was communication and cooperation which brought man from the wilderness to the civilized world. The knowledge that mankind has today is the precious heritage of our ancestors who discovered better means and methods for man to live and enjoy the beauty of life, nature and existence. The world is big enough for all to live and be happy. A child's mind is strong enough to understand it. His eyes are sharp enough to see it. Maybe it is you or I who closes his eyes to see and his mind to understand. Maybe we should THINK more about the answers we give them at home, on the

street and at school. Maybe we need to read our books that we have written for them. Maybe there is something wrong with our description and introduction of the world to them. Maybe we need to take another look at the world and the people ourselves. We may find that there are other houses and blocks besides ours. We may see other cities, nations and continents. We might find that there are other colors, religions, languages and people all over. We even might find that the world is larger than we thought. Maybe we should do it now before telling our children what to see and what to do. We may also need to tell the schools that the world is bigger than mentioned in the textbooks.

Education and Social Conditions in Afghanistan

Afghanistan, as well as other nations of the world, is in greater need for further education as the tension between social authorities and the mass illiterate peasants becomes stronger. Diseases, ignorance, inequality of survival and security are threatening coexistence in the caves, villages, towns and metropolitan cities of the nation. Severe winters in the mountainous provinces and burning summers in the desert areas take lives of thousands of poorly fed, clothed and sheltered population. While over eighty-five percent of the population are cultivating the rocky dry land and barely feeding their families, a minority of elites (high officials, noble families, landlords) have monopolized the economy, employment and educational opportunities.

Although the art of writing was developed over five thousand years ago in human history and over two thousand years ago in Afghanistan, as of today more than ninety percent of the population (19 million) cannot read or write. Those who could are not allowed to publish what they think, what they feel and what could be done. Censorship of social authorities has banned free press and publicity and neglects the human rights of Afghan intelligentsia to express their ideas and demands for improving the conditions of life in the society. After forty years, the struggle of a few thousand intelligentsia for legitimacy and social justice has come to an unbearable point. Access and control over school curricula and criteria for reward and punishment by a minority of elite in the capital have made school and other communication centers illusive and deceptive environment for the young Afghan generation.

Proposals

- Afghan young generation need to learn about the adventure and heritage of man so they could identify themselves with humankind rather than limited social groups.
- They need to learn and appreciate the positive aspects of their own culture and develop further potentials to become free human beings rather than servants and tools for the survival and security of the elites.

- They do need to develop scientific knowledge, skills, potentials and competencies for changing the conditions of their individual and social lives toward secure edges of life.
- The education system needs to become decentralized so children who will never see Kabul City could build the kinds of knowledge and skills that are useful, and applicable in their environments.
- The decision-making body of education concerning those who set objectives, policies and design school curricula should have public representation and authorization; being a relative or private friend of a minister does not make them a relative or friend of the people.
- The teachers who actually carry the main burden and responsibilities of education of the young generation should be allowed to organize professional associations and communication channels for facilitating educational needs of the Afghan young generation. As processors of learning, the teachers are in direct contact with children, parents and their needs and motives too.
- Teachers, parents and students who are affected one way or another by the formal education system and its constructive and destructive consequences should have the right and option for the kind of education that Afghan youth acquire in the government schools.

peoples lives.³ However, it is the second chronicle of the Aryans (1,000 B.C.), called Avesta, which illustrates the early life of the Aryans and of the Zoroaster's teaching, which later became a religion, and contained the most revolutionary challenges to the institution of Mozdaism and the early Aryan social institution. Zoroaster believed that all men are equal and that the quality of individuals increases with the increase in their productivity in the society. He said that the cow of a peasant is much better to be used in agricultural production rather than to be killed in the name of some god.

Thus, the roots of the educational thoughts in Afghanistan goes to those two chronicles. Rig Vieda and Avesta explain that the early Aryans lived in organized communities with specific norms and regulations of a rudimentary form of democratic institutions. According to the Avesta, the primary purpose of education seems to have been mainly moral enlightenment, with some emphasis on grammar and astronomy. It is mentioned that Zoroaster the Aryan philosopher, lived in Bukhdi (Bulkh), in northern Afghanistan. His philosophical instruction transformed many of the Mozadaists, who believed in several gods to Zoroastrianism, the beginning concepts of monotheism.⁴

³ Mohammed Ali, p. 52.

⁴ Shafie Rahel, Cultural Policy in Afghanistan (Paris: The UNESCO Press, 1975), p. 13.

- As far as equality of educational opportunity is concerned, the Ministry of Education should realize that the Ministry is a national institution responsible for educating all children of the country rather than Kabul City and the elite children. Social equality cannot be taught through unequal education.

Specific Proposals for a Need Centered Curricula in Afghanistan Schools

Economic Needs

In order to give a momentum to the stagnant formal education and economic production, the ministries of education need to find realistic basis for identification of the societal needs which could be facilitated and assisted through formal education. Passive participation and lack of involvement of the students in school learning processes results from the fact that the content, knowledge, skill and values exerted in the curricula are not relevant and modifiable with the environmental needs of the students. Parents' main motivation in sending their children to school is that a school certificate is almost an automatic guarantee for employment and maintenance of a secure life. Parents also assume that government schools have already planned that what kinds of employment would be available and what knowledge and skills are necessary for performance of such tasks.

Eighty percent unemployment rate among the high school graduates in the 1970s on one hand; lack of

momentum in national economic production on the other proves that neither the parents nor the government economic plans are reaching their goals; both blaming each other for the causes of the dissatisfaction. More bitter than all are the feelings of the students who are torn between family and government ambitions and facing imposed failure.

Is the purpose and function of the schools to produce misfits in the society? Of course not.

Options:

State Sector: The ministries of education need to have direct and continuous communication with the Ministry of Planning for the following reasons:

- to have first hand information, data and statistics about the number of manpower needed annually by the end of each plan (currently national economic plans are for each seven years).
- to identify the specific skills, competencies required for successful performance of the needed manpower.

Private Sector: Realizing the fact that state economy cannot absorb all of the graduates, the private sector is the second source of employment that educational planners in the ministries of education need to make inventories and explorations. Much of the unemployment and slow national economic development in the 1970s were actually the short-coming and inefficient adjustments of

state and private sectors by the economic plans of the 1950s and 1960s.

Afghan private economic sector is based on agricultural production and small industries related to agricultural products. A national survey of agricultural production by the educational planner would give the ministries of education realistic and up-to-date data and basis to reorganize and readjust the school curricula and prepare the students with employable, applicable and productive skills, methods and competencies needed in private sector. Such a readjustment means changing the majority of academic schools with encyclopaedic curricula content to vocational schools specializing the youth in the areas of:

- soil classification and conservation
- irrigation techniques and sources
- Plantology, Botany and diseases affecting plants and grains
- food conservation and preservation
- agricultural extension
- Veterinary
- Animal husbandry
- fertilizer production
- agricultural management
- agricultural marketing
- agricultural planning
- agricultural technology (manufacturing, maintenance and repair of agricultural machinery and utensils)
- agricultural banking

Orientation of Afghan youth with the means, sources and system of production of their society would furnish them with opportunities to increase their individual potential of survival and their proper and effective role in the society. The key to success and progress is to know the need, develop the potentials to utilize the resources and meet the goal. To develop productive potentials and skills would make Afghan youth needed and admired by the government and parents as well as other members of the society. Commitment, involvement and active participation occur only if the concept or activity is relevant, modifiable and prosperous to the individual's natural and social needs. The functions and responsibilities of the Ministries of Education in Afghanistan are to involve the young generation in active participation in the society. Momentum and development could not be maintained if the young generation could not identify their individual and social needs and are not exposed to learning conditions and techniques through which they could develop the kinds of knowledge, skills and potentials to meet those needs and goals.

Foreign Aid: Foreign loans and grants are external but conditional sources for providing financial and technical assistances which have been available to economic development of the nation. Aside from political consequences of those foreign influences, Afghanistan needs to

take serious considerations about how effective those loans and grants are utilized so it could provide the Afghan economy with sufficient amounts of capital to be able to develop a self-generating economy and pay the loans and their interests in proper time.

Allocation of large amounts of national budget on military establishments during the Monarch government, especially in the 1950s and 1960s gave more power for the ruling minorities to further establish their authorities by suppressing the public. Invasion of college campuses and collective bargaining with the newly purchased artillery, were obvious examples that was observed not more than ten years ago. Aside from a suppressive function, the military establishments are one of the main consuming branches of the government rather than being productive sources.

The ministries of planning, education, agriculture, mining and industries should be provided with sufficient budget, personnel and facilities if economic progress and social balance are needed to be achieved.

Social Needs

Male domination, ethnic colonialism, inequality of education and employment opportunities, unbalanced development of Kabul City with other rural life of Afghanistan, control of social psychology by fanatic traditionalists are some of the social problems that a

national system of education and school curricula should focus upon. Lack of national unity has not only isolated multiple nationalities from each other, but its roots and negative effects have been one of the most predominant barriers to collective commitment and cooperation in government and public institutions.

Social orientation of the Afghan young generation through school curricula is one of the major shortcomings of school learning in Afghanistan. Afghan social studies and history textbooks due to over-politicization of education and social conflicts could be considered as one of the misleading and indoctrinating media in the view of modern educational thoughts. The role of individuals and the role of institutions, their mutual functions and socio-economic factors affecting those social relations of the Afghan society are something unheard of in Afghan schools. Students learn more about ancient world history and social establishments and are more prepared to live in the past rather than the present or future. Even in higher education levels, orientation to the present social establishments and developments are either extremely limited or the content is designed mainly as an informative text. No grounds for analysis, critical thinking, group discussions, empirical research, problem solving and decision-making exist or allowed in the classrooms.

It should be remembered that if it was not for private activities of the intelligentsia and private

import of Iranian progressive literature, Afghan youth would have been deprived from scientific social inquiry and awareness during the forty years' domination of the royal family as social authority in Afghanistan.

The readjustment of curricula besides training the youth as working species should also facilitate the human needs and potentials of the Afghan young generation. The following concepts are some of the components that a need-centered curricula should take into consideration for behavioral development of the new generation.

Concepts:

- Self--to develop the knowledge about human anatomy and potentials as a living specie and the need for survival and reproduction.
- Society--to understand human social needs for communication, cooperation and group survival or coexistence in the society..
- Social functions--to understand interrelated functions and mutual influences of the society on the individuals and vice versa.
- Social institutions--to develop the understanding that such functions in the society is performed through socio-political and economic institutions established in the society.
- Natural environment--to understand and develop knowledge about nature or environment as the sources of human needs.

- Production--to understand the need for production as the means for survival and security of the individual and society.
- Scientific knowledge--to understand and develop scientific knowledge through which human needs could be modified, means of production could be developed and rules and regulations for the division of labor, distribution and consumption for proper social balance could be established.
- Social balance--to develop the understanding that maintaining a social balance in the society is an ultimate need for survival and security of all individuals living in the society.
- Social norms--to develop the understanding that social norms or social rules and regulations in the society are the means by which society could facilitate security and survival for all.
- Individual role--understanding and acceptance of the social norms and rights and responsibilities by individuals is a part of the individual role and impact for keeping the social balance functioning.
- Social authority--to develop the understanding that social authorities or government are established by the society for controlling and assurance of social balance.

- Change--to understand that human potential (mental power), human resources for survival (natural environment), and means of production (technology) are subject to constant change by the following elements of change in human society:

1. population growth (intensity of the needs)
2. scarcity (diversity of the needs)
3. development of scientific knowledge
(human potentials for survival and security)

- Social change--to understand that the established social norms regarding the rules and regulations, the social authority, criteria for reward and punishment, commands and prohibitions in the society are valid and effective as long as they are respectful and observant to those social elements of change.

This means if the organization and function of government is designed in such a way that they constantly engineer the upcoming social changes in the process of maintenance of social balance, the overall development of survival and security will be maintained and social conformity and coexistence will be alive and functioning in the society.

Often, either the system and the organization of governments are not based for providing opportunities for survival of all or there is

considerable gap between the current conditions of social needs and the established norms and techniques enforced by ruling authorities in charge of social balance. In order to prevent such social disorder, social authority needs to be designed in such a way that while enforcing law and order they should continuously update and readjust them in relation to the changes in population, scarcity and human potentials for survival.

A need-centered curricula needs to consider the above characteristics and functions of individuals and the society if effective and healthy development is expected to be achieved. The school curricula has to create the social awareness that individuals need for productive participation and self-survival in a group setting which is the society. To be specific, the recent changes in system of social control from Monarch to Republic has been a healthy and progressive government change in Afghanistan. On the base of the new changes, the main responsibility of educational and communicational institutions in Afghanistan should be geared to prepare the young and old generations for institutionalization of the republican system; so the organizational changes in the government become well adjusted with the objective of the Republic Regime which is the majority rule in the society; so that "societal needs" become the bases for national goals rather than

Second to the Vieda and Avesta civilizations, ancient educational institutions in Afghanistan were influenced by the Greeks and the Buddhists' culture and religion during the conquest of Alexander the Great (330 B.C.) and the Mauryan Dynasty of India in the second century B.C. The remains of a Greek city in Aykhanom and the 150 foot statue of Buddha Bamian still recalls the advanced art, architecture and technology of the Graeco and Buddhist eras in Afghanistan. More specifically under the influence of the Greek culture, educational thoughts and instruction developed from pure moral enlightenment to the arts of life, such as agriculture, technology, the science of government, and war.⁵ Large cities, such as Kapisa, Bamian, Hadda and Taxila were built. Trade routes were established and extended to Rome, China, India and Persia. The Kushanid Empire was founded and Buddhism became the official religion of the nation. During the reign of Kanishka the Great, second century A.D., major revisions were made within the main framework of the Buddhist principle. Thousands of Buddhist temples and monasteries were built in different parts of ancient Afghanistan. Fine arts and architecture, along with commerce and government reached to the most advanced stages and became the content of the leading schools of the Kushanid Empire.⁶

⁵ Mohammed Ali, p. 88.

⁶ Ibid., p. 102.

the "security of the elites"; so that Afghan resources and potentials become geared for societal development, national unity, social conformity and coexistence in the society; and so that Afghan society comes out of the Middle Ages, out of uncertainty, illusion, diseases and enjoy a secure and productive life in cohesion and peace, not only with Afghans but with the world of humanity as well.

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Islamic Era

In the seventh century, the most dominant cultural changes occurred in Afghanistan. Islam was introduced by Arab invaders and missionaries. Islam, because of its large scope and deep roots, in the matters of life, replaced almost all other schools of thought in a matter of a few centuries. Therefore, in every historical study, the spread of Islam is reviewed as a turning point in the history of Afghanistan and other Middle East countries.⁷ Afghan Moslem kings and emperors not only accepted the Islam religion, but also fought for its expansion in India.

Because of the similarity of the Arabic alphabet with the native languages, Dari and Pushto, not only the Moslem ideology, but the Arabic literature found its way into the Afghan literature. The molding of the Arabic language and literature into the native languages, especially Dari, enriched the vocabulary which in later centuries resulted with the emergence of the masterpieces of classic literature of Afghanistan. The construction of Mosques and Madrasas, religious schools, as a result of Islamic influence, actually laid the foundation of formal education in Afghanistan. Building Mosques and Madrasas became symbols of honor and pride for Afghan leaders and kings, especially during the

⁷ Mohammed Ali, p. 113.

Ghaznavid and Timoried dynasties from 963-1186.⁸ The encouragement of knowledge and intellectual growth in these Islamic Madrasas reached to the point that the Afghan emperors and kings not only named those schools after themselves, but also having scholars, poets, scientists and astronomers in their courts and palaces became one of the essential tasks of their government. The awards and contributions of the Afghan Moslem kings to the scholars, poets, and artists makes some of the most interesting pages of the history of education in Afghanistan.

Alberuni, the mathematician and astronomer; Farabi, the philosopher; Baihaqui, the historian; Firdausi, the historian and poet; Abu Sina (Avicenna), medical scientist and philosopher; and Kwaja Abdulah Ansar, philosopher and poet are just a few of the hundreds of scholars and well known stars who arose in the golden days of the Ghaznavid dynasty. Their contributions to the world of science and humanity are still enlightening the thoughts of scholars in Asia and Europe.

The thirteenth century witnessed the most unfortunate events in the history of science and education, not only in Afghanistan, but also in the neighboring countries. Mongol invaders, under the leadership of Genghis Khan, invaded western Asia; especially the Moslem states. Cities, mosques, madrasas and libraries

⁸ Mohammed Ali, p. 124.

were burned and in some instances, mass murder was performed. Professor M. Ali, the late Afghan historian, describes the Mongol catastrophe as follows:

. . . they spared neither old nor young, learned or illiterate, men or women, and even animals . . . burned libraries . . . millions and millions of people, some of them scholars of great eminence were killed in cold blood. . . . The Mongol invasion, in fact, had a very deep and lasting effect on the cultural development of Afghanistan. It may safely be called a dividing line, or a gulf, between what preceded and what followed this catastrophe. The culture of the country that had been so dynamic and creative declined rapidly, losing its expansive vigour.

A wave of pessimism spread through the length and breadth of the country. The idea that life is evil and escape the only worthwhile goal gained ground . . . intellectual activities diminished and civilization began to decline.⁹

Although minor recoveries were made through the efforts of the Timoried dynasty in the later part of the fourteenth century, as Professor M. Ali stated earlier, the paranoid and pessimistic character of the Afghan social psychology, inward looking, as Dupree stated, is probably a result of that historical holocaust. The discovery of sea routes was another factor which isolated Afghanistan from the outside world. No longer did Afghanistan enjoy the golden days of being the cross-roads of the trade routes through which not only caravans of merchants traveled, but books and ideas were exchanged also.

⁹Mohammed Ali, p. 139.

The decline of territory, population and fertile land was hastened with the invasions of Afghanistan from the emerging empires of the Tzar of Russia, and from the British Empire, in India, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Afghan free spirit mountaineers fought the British Emperialists on several occasions, but the third Anglo-Afghan War determined the ultimate freedom of Afghanistan in 1919.¹⁰ Again Afghanistan emerged as an independent state of the Asian continent. The decade of independence, 1919-1929, produced new national objectives, identity and leadership. Reforms, development and modernization became the main purpose of the government and the people. Modern educational institutions in the western-style were established. Doors were opened for people's ideas and skills in order to facilitate the national task of development and modernization. Means of development were identified. Public education again, after 500 years, became the task of national leadership and a contribution to the people and to the state.

Westernization by introduction of modern applied sciences in the early twentieth century became the second turning point after the introduction of Islam in the seventh century.

Due to the feudalistic stage of social evolution, which had dominated Afghanistan since the early Aryans,

¹⁰ Mohammed Ali, p. 177.

2,000 B.C. to 1919, the characteristics of education were influenced by the social order of the society. As mentioned before, schools and education were mainly a need and prestige for the children of the kings, nobles and feudals (Khans) who constituted the ruling class of Afghan social hierarchy. However, for the mass of illiterate peasants, education never went beyond the preliminary orientation of religious prayers, which were performed by Mullahs in the Mosques. In other words, the stage of public education as tools for social change in Afghanistan emerged in the twentieth century.

Modern Era: 1900-1970

Before reviewing the development of modern educational institutions in Afghanistan, the social needs and motives of such changes need to be modified, because they are the prime motives which justify and adjust the scope and dimension of the changes.

External Motives and Factors

At the dawn of the twentieth century, long range international movements were shaping a new Asia. The Tzar and British Empires were falling from their long domination in Asia. Movements of nationalism, pan-Islamism and modernization were shaking the whole continent from Turkey to Japan.

The Russian revolution of 1905 and the formation of the Provisional Government in Russia, the victory of

CHAPTER I

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGES
IN AFGHANISTAN

Introduction

Continental socio-political tides in the dawn of the twentieth century produced dramatic changes in Eurasia. The time was a turning point from old to new, from traditionalism to modernization and from suppression to freedom.

From Japan and China to Afghanistan, India, Iran and Turkey sounds of freedom and modernization echoed in the streets, villages and cities. It was during those moments when two giant empires were collapsing in Eurasia and new establishments were emerging from the foundation; World War I began, the Tzar and British Empires were ended and nations with new destinations began making new history.

In Afghanistan, these continental changes resulted with regaining of independence from British domination, abolishment of despotism in 1919 and adoption of a national policy changing from traditionalism to modernization. The new constitutional government under the leadership of King Ammanullah selected formal education as the bridge to bring the Afghan tribal society from the Middle Ages to

Japan in the Russian War, the victory of Mustafa Kamal and the young Turks over the traditional Ottoman Empire, the modernization launched by Riza Shah in Iran and finally, the national liberation movements in India were all external factors influencing socio-political establishments in Afghanistan. These international tides stimulated young Afghan nobles to wake up from Middle Age feudalism and tyranny and join the movement. The nucleus of the first socio-political movement was created under the leadership of the Afghan princes and courtiers by the name of Jamiast-i-Siri Milli (National Secret Association) who were also called the "Constitutionalists."¹¹

Internal Motives and Factors

The international imbalance of power and the internal movements of the "Constitutionalists" were creating new courses and conditions for King Habibullah during his reign from 1900-1919. Total freedom of Afghanistan from Britain, establishment of a constitutional monarchy and modernization were the three main demands of the noble reformists. The king, who received subsidy from Great Britain, agreed only with the modernization item, as far as the survival of his throne was concerned. Thus, the first modern secondary school, in the western

¹¹Hassan KaKar, Afghanistan in the 1970s, ed. Louis Dupree, et al (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. 26.

style, was founded in Kabul by the name of Habibia College in 1904. Establishment of a few other vocational and primary schools, a hydro-electric dam, publishing of a paper called Saraj-al-Akhbar and a few other moderate steps were taken as a result of Habibullah's modernization. But the king seemed to be more occupied with his picnics and parties with his twenty wives and mistresses in his newly built palaces and harem.¹² Moreover, his renewal of a stronger relation with Britain in 1907 gave the "Constitutionalists" the final evidence that there is no hope for independence of Afghanistan in cooperation with the king. On the other hand, external movements became sharper. World War I started; the Provisional government in Russia was overthrown and the Bolsheviks announced the victory of Socialism and the formation of the Soviet Union in 1917. Lenin announced the war against international imperialism and the self-determination of all nationalists of Russia in Europe and Asia, including those areas recently invaded by the Tzar Empire. Meanwhile, in the treaty of Brest-litovsk, signed in 1918 between the Bolsheviks and the Allies, Afghanistan was pronounced as the sovereign state in the south of the Soviet Union.¹³ More specifically, the Basmachi movements for pan-Islamism and the independence

¹² Leon B. Poullada, Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), p. 37.

¹³ Vartan Gregorian, The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 224,

of Moslem states of Russia in Northern Afghanistan released the long term fears of Afghanistan from Russo-Britain invasion, which had developed since the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1907.¹⁴

As a result, the "Constitutionalists" decided to first, remove the king; second, gain full independence; and thirdly, launch modernization programs under a constitutional monarch. In 1919, they assassinated King Habibullah on a hunting trip in Jalalabad. Prince Ammanullah, the leader of the movement, proclaimed his kingdom. Soon after, he declared the war of independence which resulted with freedom of Afghanistan from the British Empire in India in 1919. In 1921, the first constitution in the history of Afghanistan was compiled and passed by an elected general assembly.

Thus, the two important stages of modernization designed by the noble reformists succeeded. Independence and a constitutional monarchy were attained. The country was ready for launching the third phase, which was modernization.

The Decade of Independence: 1919-1929

King Ammanullah, who had the full support of the "Young Afghans," especially the talented and dynamic leaders, such as, Mahmud Tarzi, Mohamad Weli Badakshani,

¹⁴Gregorian, p. 204.

Mohamad Nadir and his brothers, soon appointed these modernizers as members of his modern cabinet and launched a series of social, political, and economical reforms which served basically as foundations of Modern Afghanistan.

As a result of the nationalism and the pan-Islamism movements, close contacts and socio-political activities had already been established between Afghanistan and the Moslem Indians, Iran, Turkey, and the Basmachis in Russian Turkistan. The victory of the young Afghans against the British Empire and the establishment of the young constitutional government in Afghanistan accelerated these socio-political activities in Afghanistan. Since Turkey, as a pioneer of the Islamic states, had already accomplished a successful modernization program (in this context, the articulation of Western science and technology within the Islamic principals), a clear example or model existed for Afghan and Iran modernizers to follow. Nevertheless, legations and confirmations were made with several countries in Asia and Europe; France, Germany, Turkey, Iran, Russian Moslem States and Moslem Indians were among the main nations and nationalities which assisted Ammanullah and the Constitutionalists to succeed in their reforms and social changes in Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union was among the first nation which recognized the independence of Afghanistan and called it a great victory against imperialism. Soon after, funds, specialists and technical assistants from Europe and Asia

were geared and implemented for the construction of a modern Afghanistan, especially after the seven month tour of Ammanullah and Queen Saraya to Turkey, Egypt, Italy, France, Germany, England, the Soviet Union, and Iran.

For the specific purpose of this study only the educational reforms and their effect on the socio-political institutions of Afghanistan will be reviewed.

The reformists and their leader Ammanullah, had realized that only through long range public education could a real development and change be attained. Thus, the first national goals of education were designed and reinforced by the establishment of the first Ministry of Education.

Although the first secondary school (Habibia) was founded in 1904, after the assassination plot of Habibia students against King Habibullah, the enrollment and the facilities for public education began declining. Therefore, the foundation of the first public school in Kabul and other provinces was laid during the decade of independence. Following is the list of the schools established during the ten year reign of Ammanullah. (Table 1)¹⁵

¹⁵Gregorian, p. 239.

TABLE 1

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ESTABLISHED
FROM 1919-1929

Name of School	Type of School	Date
Maktab-i-Usul-i-Daftari	Secretarial School	1920
Esmat	Girls' Secondary School	1921
Amanyah	Secondary School	1922
Amani	Secondary School	1923
Maktab-i-Hokam	Administration School	1924
Zerahat and Sunhat	Agriculture and Industry	1924
Darulmohalimin	Teachers' Training	1924
Ghazi	Secondary School	1927

A list of journals and newspapers published in the Decade of Independence 1919-1929 is shown in Table 2.¹⁶

TABLE 2

JOURNALS AND NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED
IN THE DECADE OF INDEPENDENCE
1919-1929

Title	Type	Province	Date
<u>Aman-i-Afghan</u>	Newspaper	Kabul	1919
<u>Faryad</u> (the clamor)	Journal	Herat	1920
<u>Ihifaq-i-Islam</u>	Newspaper	Herat	1920
<u>Ihihad-i-Mashriqi</u>	Newspaper	Jalalabad	1920
<u>Bidar</u>	Newspaper	Mazar-i-Sharif	1920
<u>Ihihad-i-Islam</u>	Journal	Mazar-i-Sharif	1920

¹⁶Gregorian, pp. 244-245.

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Title	Type	Province	Date
<u>Irshad-i-Naswan</u>	Women's Journal	Kabul	1921
<u>Serwat</u>	Commercial Journal	Kabul	1921
<u>Aine-ye-Irfan</u>	Educational Journal	Kabul	1921
<u>Askareh</u>	Military Journal	Kabul	1921
<u>Ihijad-i-Baghlan</u>	Newspaper	Baghlan	1921
<u>Tulu-i-Afghan</u>	Newspaper	Kandahar	1921
<u>Setay-i-Afghan</u>	Newspaper	Kohistan	1921
<u>Ihihad-i-Khan Abad</u>	Newspaper	Khan Abad	1922
<u>Haqiqat</u> (truth)	Military Journal	Kabul	1923
<u>Anis</u>	Newspaper	Kabul	1927

The establishment of the first Ministry of Education, designing new curriculum, vocational training, compulsory primary education, adult literacy classes, girls' schools, the Pushto Academy, the Police Academy and foreign scholarships were some of the other important achievements in the decade of independence from 1919-1929.

Public persuasion for the increase of school enrollment was attained through offering food, clothing, dormitories and allowances for the secondary school students. Government employees were advised to send their school age children to school; otherwise their jobs would be in jeopardy. Furthermore, after the establishment of a radio station and over fifteen journals and newspapers, a wide circle of communication was established for mass public

persuasion and enlightenment. King Ammanullah and Queen Soraya personally participated in tutoring adult classes and girls' school.¹⁷ By 1927 there were 322 schools and over 51,000 students in Afghanistan out of which 1,000 were girl students, and 3,000 secondary and high school students. A few hundred were sent abroad for higher education.¹⁸

In any event, the main objectives of formal education were "to cultivate an enlightened intellectual class in Afghanistan, an essential ingredient for successful reform and to provide a group of able administrators for the monarchy."¹⁹

With the assistance of the Turks, French and Moslem Indian teachers and educators, a new school system with new curricula and instructional techniques was fully established by the end of 1928. The significance of the modern curricula introduced by Ammanullah's educational reform was that besides religious studies, concentration was diverted to the natural applied sciences and foreign languages, especially English, French, and German. Actually, the freedom of knowledge and science from the domination of religious thoughts for the first time in the history of Afghanistan was maintained as a result of these

¹⁷ Poullada, p. 72.

¹⁸ KaKar, p. 24.

¹⁹ Gregorian, p. 240.

reforms. Furthermore, this phenomenon was enforced by establishing government criteria and certificates for the Mullahs and the Qazis (the religious teachers and judges).

To conclude, in the years between 1919 and 1929, foundations of a modern nation were laid by Ammanullah and the noble reformists. The following are some important steps taken toward the construction of a modern nation.

1. Afghanistan regained her independence in 1919.
2. The first constitution was ratified and passed by the first National Assembly.
3. Freedom of thought was maintained and free private papers started publications.
4. The state assumed the responsibility for public education, health, transportation, communication, and national economy.
5. National ideology and the concept of statehood was created and supported by the newly emerging intelligentsia, who later on served as ingredients for national development as intended by Ammanullah.
6. Relations were established with other nations.
7. Kabul became the center of socio-political activities and centralization was increased.
8. Power authority was transferred from traditional feudals and religious families to the Royal Family and the educated elite.
9. A new organized administration and legislature was established on the basis of Western democracy.

Civil Rebellion of 1929

The emergence of a charismatic leader in a newly liberated nation north of India, the progressive national

liberation movement within India, and the victory of the Bolsheviks and their support of anti-British empirialists movements of the South Asians were challenging events to the British domination in South Asia, especially India. The participation of the Afghanistan delegate in the Eastern Communist Central Committee, in Berlin, December of 1919, and in the Congress of Eastern People, Baku, September of 1920, increased Soviet-Afghan relations and gave the British policy-makers enough vision to the future dangers of the emerging Afghanistan. Meanwhile, during the summer of 1920, 18,000 Moslem Indians migrated to Afghanistan inviting Ammanullah to invade India and liberate the Moslems. These factors and finally the support and recognition of the Western powers, especially Germany, France, and the Soviet Union for Afghanistan, which was maintained during the seven month tour of Ammanullah and Queen Soraya, made the conditions more favorable for the independence of India and the leadership of Ammanullah and the Bolsheviks in the region.

British Imperialists, who had gained enough experience and knowledge about social psychology and the social structure of the traditionalists in Afghanistan during her nineteenth century political domination on this nation, played the most outrageous diplomacy in the history of Anglo-Afghan affairs. Since the Western powers had just finished World War I, the British military offense against Afghanistan would have made the conditions for

the modern world, from backwardness to development and from darkness to enlightenment. Thus, the first Ministry of Education was established and the State assumed the total responsibility of public education in 1921. Primary education became compulsory by law. By 1928, over 300 schools were established and over 50,000 students were enrolled in different primary schools, secondary schools and colleges throughout the nation. Transition from theological and ethical thoughts to modern applied science were major characteristics of the new educational changes.

The decade of independence (1919-1929) is considered as the era of drastic changes which basically served as the foundation of the Modern Afghanistan.

The early outcome of the new educational developments was to introduce a new political body into the Afghan political arena. The royal family, the feudals and tribal leaders were joined by the newly educated intelligentsia. Their early political struggles, further irritated by British empirical influences, resulted in unfortunate events which brought tragic consequences to the growth of formal education in Afghanistan.

The rebellion of the Traditionalists, the fall of King Ammanullah, the Civil War, and the assassination of King Nadir and his brother by students--one after another were part of the socio-political holocaust which occurred between 1929 and 1933.

the British in India much worse; therefore, the British counterattacked some of the cultural reforms of Ammanullah, which received the support of the traditionalists, and plotted a long range rebellion from within Afghanistan through provoking internal agitation.

Women's liberation, the right to go to school, emancipation of women from the chaderi veil, the right to select their husbands or divorce them upon their own wishes, the enforcement of Western clothing for the General Assembly and government officials, most of whom had never seen such a thing before, the enforcement of Western-style schools in comparison to the religious schools or madrasas, and finally, the most drastic of all that of sending Afghan girls for further training abroad were among the strong cultural and religious deviations that Ammanullah's reform imposed on the middle-age tribal, feudal and fanatic society of Afghanistan at that time. Signs of resentment and civil reactions were already observable by the mid 1920s. In January of 1925, Khost, one of the southern provinces, rebelled against Ammanullah and the changes in Kabul. Ammanullah sent a tribal army to suppress the rebels. The civil reaction came under control and over 2,000 Khostians were killed.²⁰ But the resentment of one tribe being defeated by another made the problem

²⁰Gregorian, p. 254.

multidimensional and could be counted as one of Ammanullah's mistakes.

On the other hand, since Ammanullah himself and his reformers were composed of noble families, while paddling for reform, each of them dreamed of the throne and leadership and most of the reliable counterparts were quite susceptible to shifts of power for their own benefit.

Their initiatives were often based on personal and private prestige, reputations and ego trips rather than a realistic concern for the mass peasant population, who were not only suffering from the burden of their traditional lords, the feudals and the khans, but also from the new taxation that Ammanullah had placed per head. Although Ammanullah had a democratic attitude with his colleagues and maintained informal relations with the public, at crucial moments where some of his ideas were to be implemented, not enough time was given to examination or criticism. Especially after his tour of Europe, the dilemma of modernization actually became the westernization of Afghanistan and fulfilled the wishes of a king rather than realistic development of the nation based on its own human and natural resources. Probably the weakness of Ammanullah's understanding of the socio-economical condition of his nation, which was doubled by his lack of effective diplomatic organization of neighboring powers, put him back in the condition which his father Habibullah faced in regards to

Anglo-Russian affairs in Afghanistan. Knowing and appreciating Soviet support of Afghan independence, Ammanullah seemed to cooperate more with the Basmachis (anti-Bolshevik Moslems in southern USSR). After the defeat of the Basmachis and the escape of the King of Bokhara to Afghanistan, Ammanullah was inclined to negotiate or renew relations with the British in India. But it was too late. The circles of traditionalist rebels were getting closer and closer to Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan.

Ammanullah left Kabul for Italy upon the first attack of the rebellious front. After the rebellion of Khost, mentioned previously, again for another nine months Kabul was under the tribal control of rebels until General Nadir Khan, who on the basis of a self-imposed exile since 1926, living in Europe with his four brothers, came and succeeded Ammanullah in 1929.

The Musahiban Dynasty and the "Young Afghans" 1929-1972

King Nadir, the founder of the Musahiban Dynasty, was facing the most crucial moments of Afghan political conditions. The nation needed to be settled while public concern toward education and reforms was still there. On the other hand, the new intelligentsia, which became enlarged during the ten years of Ammanullah's reign, demanded the reopening of the schools and the activation of other courses of development. Nadir seemed to follow

the traditionalists and took a moderate and cautious policy for modernization. He established new relations with the British Government in India. His acceptance of £ 175,000 and 10,000 rifles from the British in India gave the "young Afghans" the evidence needed to accuse the regime of being pro-British.²¹ These and the appointment of his four brothers as ministers increased the gap between Nadir and the "young Afghans," most of whom had returned home from advanced training abroad. Although Nadir was a member of the early "Constitutionalists" and had observed the result of King Habibullah's suppression of the educated elite in 1919, in order to diminish the "young Afghan" activities, he executed two important leaders of the "young Afghans," G. N. Charky and M. Walikhan, on the charges of anti-government activities and establishing a republic regime. From this point, terrorism and underground struggle of the "young Afghans" with the royal family of Nadir became sharper and more active.

Thus, in 1933, the students and the teachers of the Kabul secondary schools which were acting as colleges at that time, became extremely active in national affairs. Because of the predominance of British influence and internal socio-political stagnation, their partisan struggles were followed by three important assassinations.

²¹KaKar, p. 30.

1. The assassination of Mohamad Aziz, June 6, 1933, Nadir's brother and Ambassador of Afghanistan in Germany, by Sayed Kamal, graduate of Amani School who was sent to Germany for further training. Upon his arrest, Kamal said that he did it because of the predominance of British control during Nadir's reign and the betrayal of the southern frontier tribes by the Nadir government.
2. An attempt for assassination of the foreign minister and the British envoy in Kabul by Mohamad Azam, a teacher of the Amani School. The attempt was unsuccessful and one secretary and two others from the British Embassy were killed on September 7, 1933. As a result, the assassin was executed by the government and 32 other students and friends of Mohamad Azam were imprisoned up to 14 years.
3. The assassination of King Nadir by Mohamad Khalig,²² an Amani school student, November 7, 1933.

King Zahir Shah 1933-1973

Probably no other king in the history of Afghanistan ever enjoyed the kingdom without any direct responsibility or public commitment as much as his Majesty King Zahir Shah did. Because of the nature of family structure in Afghan culture, the three remaining uncles of the King in cooperation with the administration of the royal family

²²KaKar, p. 30.

council not only saved Zahir's kingdom from the Amanists and the "young Afghans" for forty years, but also made the transition of power from the monarch to the 1973 republic quite peacefully.

During the 1930s and 1940s, it was Uncle Hashim and Uncle Mahmud, who governed Afghanistan while the nineteen-year-old King was representing the kingdom. This "Avuncular Period" 1933-53, as named by Louis Dupree, was a return to basics. Policies for the gradual development and isolation of Afghanistan with concentration on military establishment gave the royal government the chance it needed to get a good grasp on the national power.

After the assassination of King Nadir, executions and imprisonment of challenging tribal leaders and the intelligentsia became an ordinary and regular task of the government known as Sarkar. The psychological effects of public suppression became more critical with the establishment of an active Intelligence Bureau as the central government became stronger and stronger.

Education also lost its effectiveness in this conspiracy as active involvement of the intelligentsia was banned. Socio-political awareness and ideologies, which were the core of the curriculum in the decade of independence, almost became a non-school activity. School learnings and textbooks took an encyclopedic characteristic. Training in school actually became mastery of a series of bits of information in multiple fields which

did not have direct relationship with the needs and interests of those who attended school. Meanwhile, evaluation, supervision and instruction also were influenced by a passive content. Memorization of the content became the only means of school achievement upon which teachers and students were evaluated. On the basis of ethnic favoritism, the Pushto language, which was taught as a second language since the establishment of the first modern school in 1904, was introduced as the first language and for a few years all textbooks in the nation were published in Pushto. Of course, this factor in a situation where the predominant language was Farsi made reading and writing extremely difficult for students, especially with a limited number of Pushto speaking teachers.

The suppression and control of schools and education by the royal government during the Avuncular period created a passive curriculum and discouraged the public from getting involved with government agencies including schools. The public isolation and "inward-looking" behavior that Dupree and Poulada emphasize about the Afghan social psychology today is by and large a result of the suppression of the Hashim Khan government.

Prime Minister Daoud and Foreign Aid

In 1953, a new modernizer emerged in the Musahiban Dynasty. Mohammad Daoud, Prime Minister and his brother, Mohammad Naim, Minister of Foreign Affairs, challenged

the slow pace of development as was being conducted by their uncles. A new era started for the youth. Women's liberation, youth involvement and active foreign policy once again were stirring in Kabul and other provinces. The most significant contribution and characteristic of modernization in the 1950s was the introduction of a systematic and planned approach for national development. The five year developmental plans, which were backed by a multi-million dollar foreign aid and assistance, stimulated the most drastic changes in the social and economical life of the nation. The construction of the nation's highways, airports, hydro-electric dams, mass public education, expansion of Kabul University, modern military force, extraction of coal and petroleum, construction of textiles, cement and oil seed factories are all the products of the five year plan and of foreign aid during Mohammad Daoud's administration from 1953 to 1963.

In the early 1960s, a proposal of a progressive constitutional monarchy was submitted to the King by Prime Minister Daoud. The proposal was not accepted, but it created more threat to the King for possibilities of Daoud becoming the leader of Afghanistan because of his public support and his success in national economic progress. Thus, the King proclaimed a new constitution with the main purpose of sterilization of Daoud's influence in the Afghan political arena. According to the Constitution

of 1964, members of the royal family were prohibited from holding high administrative posts.

King Zahir's technique of transfer of power to the Parliament (1964-1973), was warmly welcomed by many power thirsty educated elite and stereotyped public opinion. But the Constitution of 1964 and the parliamentary government had some main flaws, which actually prevented the public and the intelligentsia from participating in government and national decisions. For example, the majority of the members of the Senate were selected by the King. Since the Senate had supreme power, the King's men could control the affairs in the favor of the monarch. More important however, was the authority of the King, which made a mockery of ten years of Royal Democracy and Parliamentarism in Afghanistan. According to the Constitution of 1964, the King was authorized, with absolute power, to be free to abolish the Parliament and veto any bill proposed by the Parliament, if necessary. Upon this authority, King Zahir Shah never signed the bill of Freedom of the Political Parties, and as a result of this socio-political crisis and public deception, the government reached a stagnant point by the early 1970s.

At this time, once again, General Mohamad Daoud, after ten years of political isolation, with the cooperation of the young military officers, overthrew the King in a coup-d'etat on July 17, 1973 and announced the First

Republic Regime in Afghanistan. He was elected as the President by the General Assembly of 1977 and is currently leading the nation to the Modern World.

The antagonism between the royal family and the intelligentsia, who were mostly associated with the Kabul secondary schools, resulted in the execution and imprisonment of the leaders of the Young Afghan's Party. The 1930s and 1940s were the decades of dictatorship where education lost its freedom and relevance to the Afghan social life. Schools became the target of attack and suppression by the traditionalists and political leaders. ^{ruling class} Government censorship of the press and a passive curricula banned freedom of thought and development of a quality education. These two decades are mainly known as the period of stagnation, isolation and conservatism. Universal changes after World War II also brought progressive tides into Afghanistan; foreign aid, the international Cold War and the establishment of the United Nations generated direct influences of the outside world onto Afghanistan. Billions of dollars, thousands of foreign specialists and large amounts of machinery were brought to assist Afghanistan's economic development.

Formal education was once again expanded. Student enrollment jumped from 60,000 in 1945 to 700,000. ¹⁹⁶⁵ However, as the importance of education was realized in modernization and development of Afghanistan, the ruling powers became keenly concerned about its growth and its multiple influences on socio-political institutions in the society. While they felt a need for educated personnel, they were also terrified by the emerging intelligentsia and

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION IN THE 1970s

Introduction

Formal education for the purpose of national development has been provided free for all Afghan citizens, by the State. Primary education, grades 1-8 is compulsory for all children.

Goal setting, administration employment, curriculum, teachers' training, evaluation, supervision, school construction, textbooks and extracurricular materials are provided and facilitated by the State through the Ministry of Education.

Educational organization is based on a centralized system, controlled by the Ministry of Education located in Kabul City.

Afghanistan is composed of twenty-eight provinces. The educational institutions in these provinces are administered by the Provincial Directors of Education, who function under the authority of the provincial governors and the Ministry of Education.

All posts, positions and committees of the Afghan educational system are appointees of higher authorities

of the Ministry. No elective offices exist in administration of the educational institutions.

According to the 1972 statistics of the M.O.E., educational institutions are functioning with a capacity of 3,984 schools, 21,920 teachers and 760, 491 students. Kabul University (located in the capital), and a medical college in Nangarhar province along with eight junior colleges are among the higher educational institutions facilitating over 9,000 students all over the nation.

Over 95 percent of Afghan elementary and secondary schools are academic. There are over thirty-five vocational schools, mostly located in Kabul. In 1956, under the modernization programs of Prime Minister Daoud, a series of five year plans were launched for the Afghan economic development, which were supported by an extensive amount of foreign aid. Thus, over 60 percent of the educational establishments mentioned before are products of the 1950s and 1960s.

Administration

The administration of the educational institutions in Afghanistan is under the authority of the M.O.E. and the Provincial Directors of Education. All posts and positions in the M.O.E. are selective. The Minister of Education is the top authority in the Afghan educational system. Selections of the high officials and coordination of the M.O.E. with other Ministries and other sectors of

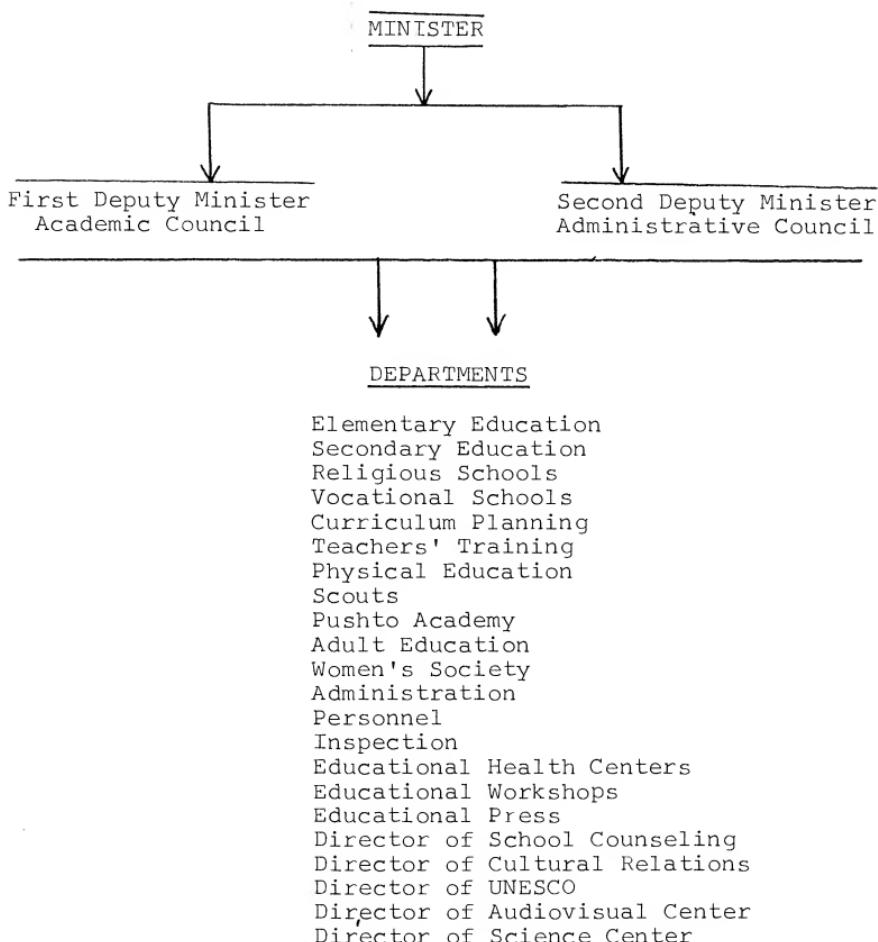
the government are some of the main decisions made by the Minister of Education.

Second to the Minister's authority are the first and second Deputy Ministers; one with academic and the other with administrational domains of responsibility.

There are two important committees chaired by the Deputy Ministers, which act as the legislative and decision making bodies for major issues. One is the Academic Council, chaired by the first Deputy Minister, and the other one is the Administrative Council, chaired by the second Deputy Minister.

Employment and transfer is based on the request of the employee and the agreement of higher authority. Certification, qualification and quality criteria for employment are applied to teachers in regard to their eligibility to teach the certain areas where they have been certified. For the other administrative positions no established professional or academic criteria are observed for selection or appointment of the employee. Salaries and promotions are based on rank. Starting from rank thirteen to rank one, the salaries increase from 900 to 5700 Afghanis, which is equivalent to \$18 to \$114 U.S. currency. Lately, a 30 percent raise in the salary has been advocated by the Republic Government. Ranks are based on the years of education and period of job experience. High school graduates are considered rank 10

Chart 1. Administrative Organization
of the Ministry of Education



26 Provincial Directors of Education

and with a college degree, rank 9. An average of three years of successful job performance is required for promotion to higher ranks. Table 3 shows the salary scale in Afghanistan according to rank, comparing teachers and other government employees.

TABLE 3
SALARY SCALE IN AFGHANISTAN IN
AFGHANISTAN CURRENCY**

Rank	Other Government Employees	Teachers
13	900 Afs*	900 Afs*
12	960	960
11	1,050	1,090
10	1,200	1,244
9	1,350	1,401
8	1,500	1,551
7	1,800	1,972
6	2,100	2,242
5	2,400	2,634
4	2,700	2,975
3	3,900	3,900
2	4,800	4,800
1	5,700	5,700

*Afghanistan Currency
30% raise since 1976

50 Afs. = \$1.00 U.S. Currency

**Department of Planning Education in Last 50 Years,
Volume I, p. 89, Kabul, 1968.

Educational Institutions

Formal educational institutions in Afghanistan are composed of village schools, primary schools, secondary or high schools, colleges and universities. Although a few kindergartens exist in Kabul and other major cities where a few hundred elite children are nursed and entertained, it is actually the village and primary schools which are the beginning of schooling in the country.

Village Schools

Village schools would be better named as "peasants' children's schools." They are semi-primary schools, except with poor educational facilities. Village schools are established in the areas where there is no regular primary school. There are two main divisions of village schools. One is composed of grades 1-3, having only one teacher. The second one has 2-3 teachers for grades 1-6. A minimum of 10 students are required for the establishment of a village school.

VILLAGE SCHOOL STATISTICS Source: Ministry of Education

<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Students</u>
1,962	2,551	143,260

According to the above statistics, there are an average of 73 students in each school and one teacher for an average of 26 students.

TEACHERS' QUALIFICATIONS IN VILLAGE SCHOOLS
 Statistics of 1972
 Source: M.O.E.

<u>College Degree</u>	<u>High School Cert.</u>	<u>9th Grade Cert.</u>	<u>Below 9th</u>
X	890	1,044	522

Mostly mosques and private residences are used as classrooms for the village schools. Only 31 village schools have adequate buildings which were built by M.O.E.

The curricula of these village schools are mostly based on peasantry culture and values. Religious subjects are greatly emphasized in the village schools as compared to the regular primary schools.

Subjects taught in the Village Schools

<u>Subjects</u>	1	2	3	<u>Grades</u>	4	5	6
Holy Koran	2 hr	2 hr	2 hr	Grades 4-6 have the same curriculum as other primary schools all over the nation (See Chart 2 for Primary school subjects)			
Theology	2 hr	2 hr	2 hr				
Arithmetic	4 hr	4 hr	4 hr				
Caligraphy	5 hr	5 hr	5 hr				
Language	5 hr	5 hr	5 hr				

A day in the village school lasts from 8 to 12 A.M. Each class period lasts 45 minutes with a 10 minute break in between each 2 periods.

Primary Schools

The main objective of primary education in Afghanistan is to acquire basic knowledge, become literate, learn to respect Islamic values and develop a patriotic sense toward fellow Afghans and Afghanistan. No matter how

effectively the above objectives are achieved through the diverse curriculum, in the end it is preparation for the pupils for the secondary schools.

PRIMARY SCHOOL STATISTICS OF 1972
Source: M.O.E.

<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Students</u>
1,295	12,245	461,563

On the basis of the above statistics, each primary school is composed of an average of 356 students and 9 teachers, which allows one teacher per 38 students.

PRIMARY TEACHERS QUALIFICATIONS
Statistics of 1972
Source: M.O.E.

<u>College Degree</u>	<u>High School Cert.</u>	<u>9th Grade Cert.</u>	<u>Below 9th</u>
312	5,389	5,285	1,261

Between 1966 and 1972, a new curricula was designed for the Afghan primary schools by the M.O.E. with the cooperation of the Teachers' College at Columbia University. The new primary curricula objectives, subject area objectives, textbooks, teachers' guides and other supplementary books are based on a systematic approach and are produced with the most efficient qualities that modern textbooks require. Further discussion in regards to the theory, objectives, and processing of the new curricula will be explored in later pages.

Chart 2. Primary School Subjects

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Grades</u>							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
First Language	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Practical Arts	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mathematics	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Religious Studies	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Physical Education	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Second Language				X	X	X	X	X
Science				X	X	X	X	X
Health				X	X	X	X	X
Social Studies				X	X	X	X	X

(X = Subject required)

Secondary Schools

The first secondary school, or high school, named Habibia, was established in 1904, but today there are over 190 high schools, grades 7-12, and 497 middle schools, grades 7-9, in the country. Secondary education is considered a very important stage to the students, teachers, parents and to the government too. It is in this stage that a child becomes a matured member introduced into the society. Some pursue higher education, some get government or private employment and the rest start life with whatever occupation they can adjust to. Therefore, the curricula and school learning for secondary school are designed with the assumption to well equip the young generation for effective participation in society.

Chart 3. Subjects Taught in the Secondary Schools*¹

<u>Subjects</u>	7	8	9	10	11	12
Holy Koran	X	X	X	X	X	X
Religious Studies	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dari Language	X	X	X	X	X	X
Pashto Language	X	X	X	X	X	X
English Language	X	X	X	X	X	X* ²
Geography	X	X	X	X	X	X
History	X	X	X	X	X	X
Chemistry	X	X	X	X	X	X
Biology	X	X	X	X	X	X
Physics	X	X	X	X	X	X
Geometry	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mathematics	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sports	X	X	X	X	X	X
Morale	X	X	X	X	X	X
Morality	X	X				
Geology					X	
Economics				X		
Logic and Psychology						X* ³
Drawings	X	X	X			
Arabic Language	X					

*¹As of 1976, under the educational reforms, the primary school has been extended from grade 1 to 8, but the curricula remains the same.

*²In Isteqlal and Amani High Schools, located in Kabul, French and German are taught as foreign languages.

*³In the 12th grade, Logic is taught for boys' schools and psychology for girls' schools.

their demands for autonomy and legitimacy. As a result, campus invasions by government tanks and machine guns, assassination of political leaders by students, demonstrations, imprisonment and other socio-political activities of this nature became a part of educational experiences for the government and the students.

As Afghanistan evolves into the fourth quarter of the twentieth century, the growing educated unemployed, the passive curricula, the mass illiteracy, the growing foreign loans and interest, the stagnant economic production (one of the world's lowest per capita income), the class and ethnicity oriented criteria for reward and punishment, the extremes between cave life and the Kabul metropolitan city, the monopoly and censorship of the press and the suppression of socio-political activity and collective bargaining are some of the new elements of change which not only do affect the curricula, the formal education and the intelligentsia in Afghanistan, but are also leading the nation into a new phase of history.

Statement of the Problem

School, and formal educational institutions serve political objectives of the ruling powers in Afghanistan rather than developing the knowledge, skills and competencies necessary for full development of individuals and the society as well.

According to the above chart, 97 percent of the secondary school students have to take over 15 subjects in each school year, which is nine months, repeatedly in order to graduate. Sixty courses in primary and 78 in the secondary makes the total number of subjects from grade 1-12 over 130 subjects or courses if a student manages to advance without failure. Failure in two subjects in the final exams means repeating the same school year's work, including the subjects that he has passed in the final exams.

SECONDARY SCHOOL STATISTICS--1972

	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Students</u>
Middle School	497	4,126	102,054
High School	190	2,320	44,934
Totals	687	6,446	146,988

On the basis of the above statistics, the average distribution of schools, teachers and students is as follows:

Middle School: Eight teachers and 205 students per school, one teacher for each 24 students.

High School: Twelve teachers and 236 students per school, one teacher for each 19 students.

NOTE: Since 1975, on the basis of the educational reforms, new policies extended the elementary schools to the 8th grade, and grades 9-12 were considered the secondary or high school. Therefore, the middle schools were abolished.

TEACHERS' QUALIFICATIONS IN SECONDARY
SCHOOLS--1972
Source: M.O.E.

	College Degree	H.S. Cert.	9th Grade Cert.	Below 9th Gr.	Foreign Teachers
Middle School	1,015	961	72	259	12
High School	642	<u>2,640</u>	<u>510</u>	<u>262</u>	<u>72</u>
Totals	1,657	3,601	582	521	84

Vocational Schools

Vocational schools in Afghanistan system of education have not developed as much as the academic schools. The rush to become a white collar administrator as felt in early stages of formal education was not revised as the needs and demands of the society changed. Therefore, some vocational schools, which were established during the decade of independence, still remain as primers of vocational education. There are only thirty six vocational schools, most of which are located in Kabul City. Formal education should have gone through periodic changes as the government took new steps for planned development.

After the establishment of the Republic Regime, considerable emphasis has been directed towards coordination of school learning with environmental needs. Hopefully, in the 1980s, when the demand for skilled manpower will grow rapidly, change might fill this gap in vocational schools.

VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS STATISTICS

	<u>School</u>	<u>Teacher</u>	<u>Student</u>
28 Provinces	24	323	4,778
Kabul City	12 —	355 —	3,902
Totals	36	678	8,680

Source: Department of Planning, Ministry of Education Col. Statistics of 1972

On the basis of the above statistics, the student and teacher ratio in Kabul City and other provinces are as follows:

28 Provinces: 199 students and 13 teachers per school

Kabul City: 325 students and 27 teachers per school

Higher Education

Higher education institutions are composed of universities, colleges and junior colleges. Although the Military University and the Police Academy also absorb a considerable number of high school graduates, this study will focus only on the educational institutions which are under the authority and responsibility of the Ministry of Education.

The nucleus for higher education was established in 1932 with the foundation of the College of Medicine in Kabul. By 1972, Kabul University's enrollment reached 9,817 students in 15 different colleges, with a branch of Medical College extending to the Nangarhar Province.

However, recently branches of Junior Teacher Colleges have been extended to Parwan, Kunduz, Balkh, Herat, Kandshar, Paktia and Nangarhar Provinces.

So far, Kabul University does not offer a Masters or Doctoral degrees. Therefore, graduate studies are facilitated through foreign aid programs. UNESCO, USSR, and USA are the main sources which have offered thousands of scholarships and fellowships for further training.

TABLE 4

KABUL UNIVERSITY STATISTICS--1972
Source: M.O.E.

Colleges	Enrollment
Medicine	681
Law	566
Natural Science	854
Human Science	214
Religious Law	323
Engineering	435
Agriculture	735
Economics	383
Pharmacy	156
Education	625
Nangarhar Province Medital College	524
Polytechnic	1,146
High Teacher Training Institute	964
Institute of Industrial Management	211
Total	7,817

CHAPTER IV

UNHEALTHY NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE CREATION OF A STAGNANT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Introduction

As the importance of education was realized in modernization and social changes in Afghanistan, the ruling powers also became keenly concerned and cautious about its growth and its multiple influences on socio-political institutions in the society. While they felt a need for educated personnel, they were also terrified by the emerging intelligentsia and their demands for autonomy and legitimacy. Thus, from the foundation--the philosophy, content, quality and quantity of formal education, has been conditioned by the conflicting interests and priorities of the ruling powers and the intelligentsia in Kabul. Sometimes their power struggle ended with the assassination of leaders, and at times it has caused the invasion of college campuses by military force with machine guns breaking the lines of student demonstrators. Going through such socio-political tensions produced a stagnant system of formal education and a stagnant stage of national development.

In the third quarter of the twentieth century, more than 90 percent of the population remains illiterate. Social mobility and the pace of national production is still among the lowest in the world. While there is an extreme need for educated and skilled personnel for development, unemployment of the educated is still widespread each year.

The development of Kabul City, as compared to other provinces of the nation, has made the conditions worse as far as social, political and economical opportunities are concerned. The great majority of professional and skilled manpower of the nation is concentrated in Kabul while the rest of the nation remains deprived.

In order to increase the level of life and production, Afghanistan has received large amounts of assistance through foreign aid, large in terms of its size and population. The results, in regards to gross productivity per capita and national development are quite disappointing. The above problems will be examined in this chapter from different dimensions with more concentration on the area of education.

Social Political Development

National unity and the concept of statehood are the first national needs if national development is to be achieved. Where does Afghanistan stand in regards to national unity? In a nation composed of multi-nationalities

of Tajiks, Pashtuns, Uzbaks, Turks, Hazaras, and Hindus--ethnic colonialism has become the predominant policy of the state, rather than pluralism or self-determination. The distribution of power and reward often follows ethnicity rather than qualification and national citizenship. Resentment of other ethnic groups has changed the national development concept to internal emperialism. In regards to ethnic favoritism and political inequality in Afghanistan, J. Griffith expressed his views as follows:

The government of volatile mixture is firmly in the hands of the Pathans (another term for Pashtuns). In a cabinet of sixteen members (1967) there are only two non-Pathans. You will find Pathan governors in most of the provinces even where the population is from another ethnic group. . . .¹

TABLE 5
GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP) 1970/1980 (PER CENT PER ANNUM)

Country	Low Projections	High Projections
Afghanistan	3.5 ^a	4.7 ^a
Burma	4.0	5.0
China, Republic of	7.0	8.5 ^b
India	5.5	6.5

¹John Griffiths, Afghanistan (New York: Fredric A. Praeger, Publishers, 1967), p. 67.

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Country	Low Projections	High Projections
Indonesia	4.0	5.0
Iran	8.0	10.0 ^b
Korea, Republic of	8.0	10.0 ^b
Malaysia	6.5	6.5
Nepal	2.2 ^a	3.7 ^a
Pakistan	6.0	7.0
Philippines	6.0 ^b	7.0 ^b
Singapore	7.0 ^b	7.0 ^a
Sri Lanka, Republic of	4.5	5.5
Thailand	8.0 ^b	8.5 ^b
Region	6.0	7.0

Source: Feasible Growth and Trade Gap Projections in Developing ECAFE (Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East) Region, Programming Techniques Series No. 7, ECAFE Secretariat.

^aPAB (Planning Advisory Bureau) estimates.

^bRevised estimates, see Sectoral Output and Employment Projections for the Second Development Decade Programming Techniques Series No. 8, ECAFE Secretariat.*

*Growth and Change: Perspectives of Education in Asia, UNESCO, Place de Fontenoy, Paris, France, 1972, p. 9.

To bring diverse ethnic groups together, realistic socio-political equality, supported by a large scale system of communication and social interaction, is required. This means the establishment of radio stations, printing houses and educational institutions for each ethnic group through which they not only could enrich their cultures, but also develop understanding, mutual respect and appreciation of others' cultures under a concept of common statehood.

In the 1920s, one radio station, one printing house, and a few newspapers and journals were established during Ammanulah's reform. Today, the same radio station and printing house are to serve national unity.

After the suppression of the intelligentsia in the 1930s, government censorship, for all practical purposes, eliminated freedom of the press and thoughts; except for a short time, during free publicity of the 1952 Liberal Parliament and the decade of Constitutional Democracy (1964-1973). Only one book which analyzed Afghanistan's socio-political crisis objectively, written by Ghobar, somehow found its way to be published, but failed to get distributed. A few copies of Ghobar's book, Afghanistan in the Course of History, survived privately. However, the rest were censored and probably destroyed by the Royal Government.

In regards to the capability of Afghan writers and their suppression by the ruling power, Louis Dupree commented:

. . . the general state of modern Afghan literature can only be described as sterile and unimaginative. Probably the main reason relates to the mutual antagonism between Dari and Pashto writers, with growing discontent among the few Turkic authors. The groups suffer from combined superiority--inferiority complexes, and blame each other for the current malaise. The flood of quality and pulp Iranian Farsi literature further inhibits potential innovators. So Dari and Pashto writers suspiciously eye each other and the government eyes both groups, and modern Afghan writers sit in a cultural limbo, pens silent, as social, political and economic reforms push ahead.³

Ethnic favoritism, censorship and the control of communicational media and publicity not only created the crisis, but also created further resentments which will make the task of national unity more complicated in the future. But, regardless of quality or quantity, publicity by itself requires a literate audience, the absence of which limits the effects to only 5 percent literate; most of whom are school children. Thus, the only effective communicational media between the mass illiterate peasant population and the government remained Kabul radio.

How many peasants could afford to own a battery operated radio? What language level, values and interest would the radio program contain? The limited range of the Kabul radio station makes the total effect of the government radio on peasants very minor. Due to the mountainous geography, the average commercial radios could not receive Kabul station clearly beyond the Hindu Kush

³Louis Dupree, Afghanistan (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 94.

The conflicting needs, interests and priorities of the ruling class with the mass illiterate population, enforced by a centralized system of power distribution, have made the educational institutions a means of manipulation and propaganda rather than a learning environment where young Afghans could become aware of their needs and develop the necessary knowledge, skills and behavior by which they could overcome their future needs and problems of life.

While the societal needs change dimensions and characteristics, the power and option of what to learn still remains strictly in the hands of elites in Kabul, the capital city. Over twenty thousand teachers, and over seven hundred thousand students and their parents have no control or choice on what the curricula should contain or what they really want to be taught.

Between 1950 and 1970, student enrollment and construction of school buildings drastically increased, financed by foreign aid (based on the Cold War) for the economic development of Afghanistan. But due to the aristocratic structure of the Royal Government of Afghanistan, educational opportunity became another privilege of the privileged class rather than a new means for national development. On the other hand, government censorship and monopoly of the content of the curricula along with the suppression of the intelligentsia, brought formal educational institutions to stagnant positions.

Mountains. Thus, in most parts of the country, Russian, Pakistan, Indian and Iranian stations are used for public entertainment. Theaters, concerts, art galeries, public libraries, conventions and seminars are limited privileges for Kabul City; the center of the emerging bourgeoisie and the ruling elite. A few provinces each have one cinema. Since over 99.9 percent of the films are imported, the influence of films and cinemas, in regard to the national unity, is very minimum. So far very few films have been produced by the Afghan film industry.

This does not mean that Afghan mass population does not have art, music or culture. Each region and ethnic group have their own separate cultural patterns that they observe periodically. The task of national unity was to create common values and interests as members of one nation, rather than isolated groups divided by their own language, religious sect, tribe, region and so forth. From the political point of view, internal imperialism has created inferiority and superiority conflicts among the ethnic groups. Feelings of being invaded by the Pushtun tribe as the ruling ethnic group, has alienated the people from the government. This factor has become one of the strongest problems in regard to the national unity.

Economic Development

The main source of economic production in Afghanistan is agricultural and the industries related to agriculture. Due to the dry climate and mountainous topography of the nation, arable or productive lands for cultivation are limited in Afghanistan. From an area of 250,000 square miles, cultivatable land is estimated to be between 4 to 12 percent. Uneven ownership of the farm land, along with primitive means of agricultural production together have caused low production. This has been a long problem of many underdeveloped countries as well as Afghanistan. After World War II and the establishment of the United Nations, a considerable amount of assistance was offered to Afghanistan by the U.N. and other developed nations, especially the U.S.S.R. and the United States who competed in the Cold War in the third world countries. By 1972, over \$1,284,000,000 in loans and grants through foreign aid was implemented for development of the national economy.

To clarify U.S. concept of development, the degree and stages of development needs to be defined. In the case of Afghanistan, as well as other third world nations, the concept of development means to enable the productive resources of a nation to gain momentum and become self-reliant, at least for the basic skills, knowledge and means of production. In the practical field, the above definition involves the following processes:

TABLE 6

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO AFGHANISTAN 1950 - 1971⁴
 (in millions of \$ U.S.)

Donor	Loan	Grants	Total
USSR	572.0	100.0	672.0
USA	99.3	313.5	412.8
West Germany	67.3	31.0	98.3
China	33.6		33.6
Czechoslovakia	12.0		12.0
The World Bank	8.0		8.0
France	10.0	4.1	14.1
Japan	3.0	0.3	3.3
Asian Development Bank	2.2		2.2
India	5.4	2.0	6.4
UNDP Special Funds		21.3	21.3
Totals	812.8	472.2	1,284.0

⁴Louis Dupree, Afghanistan (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 630.

TABLE 7
EXPORTS BY COMMODITY 1970⁵
(in millions of \$ U.S.)

Commodity	Value
Natural gas	12.02
Casings (sheep guts)	0.98
Dried fruit and nuts	19.45
Fresh fruit	0.34
Oil seeds	2.73
Hides and skins	12.46
Other fur skins	0.23
Wool	6.72
Raw cotton	5.65
Medicinal herbs	1.81
Carpets and rugs	6.30
Other commodities	1.10
Total	81.43

Source: Survey of Progress, 1970, Department of Statistics, Ministry of Planning, Kabul, Afghanistan.

⁵Louis Dupree, Afghanistan (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 625.

1. To identify the needs and priorities
2. To survey and identify the productive resources
3. To train the necessary skilled manpower
4. To prepare the means (technology) by which skilled manpower could utilize the resources and increase production
5. To establish an organization for management of planning, processing, supervision and evaluation
6. To prepare the finances necessary for maintenance of the above processes

Need Identification or Target Modification

Since the interest and priorities of the Afghan Royal Government revolved around the survival and security of the Royal family as the ruling power, far more concentration was made on building a strong Royal Army. Military establishment, Royal family expenses and the expansion of the bureaucracy as share-holders of the Royal family, served as prime targets for national development rather than improving the production status of the peasants or other productive resources.

These consuming projects were further complicated as the corruption in the new bureaucracy became stronger. In some cases, the funds for the project were smuggled or the project productive potential was miscalculated. As an example, an International Airport was built in Kandahar for \$15,000,000 and it does not have enough productivity to compensate the heating, cooling and the salary of the

required personnel for proper maintenance. It is used mainly once a year by a couple of domestic jets for taking Afghan pilgrims to Mecca and bringing them back to Kandahar.

Survey of the Resources

Miscalculations of the needs certainly resulted with unrealistic modification of the resources. In general, knowing that over 90 percent of the population are involved in agricultural and animal husbandry, the government planners dreamed of urbanization and industrialization of Afghanistan as a means of development. The developmental projects were not coordinated with the current system of production to help the mass peasants improve their primitive tools and increase their production per acre. Most of the developmental projects stop functioning as soon as the foreign personnel and financial aid leave. The purpose and meaning of development is to become self-generating rather than depending on conditional factors, such as foreign assistance.

The main problems withholding development and increase of production, as mentioned in the beginning, remain untouched. One was the uneven distribution of land and a second was the low production per acre. The first problem requires a social, political and economical revolution which is totally idealistic if expected to be administered under the leadership of a Royal family. The

second one could have been facilitated by the foreign aid funds in two ways: (1) By assisting small land owners to increase their production with new tools and cultivation techniques. This requires long term agricultural loans and a well organized agricultural technician for administration, extension and orientation of the farmers with the new tools and techniques. A change in curriculum and establishment of agricultural schools in each province was another enabling activity for the long term success of such goals. These methods of assistance were altogether ignored. This issue, in regards to curriculum and national needs, will be discussed in later pages. (2) By reclamation of land in the northern provinces which actually serve as the main producers of grain, fruit, meat and dairy products in the nation. The existence of large areas of reclaimable lands in northern parts of Afghanistan, beside Amu (the largest river in the nation), and the proper climate of the region, is seen by some economists to make Afghanistan potentially one of the largest producers of wheat in Asia. These rich resources, due to political reasons, have remained untouched. The decision-making bodies, who on the base of ethnicity, regionalism, and class interest, preferred their own needs and interests and priorities for the use of foreign aid and consequently failed to create a self-generating development pattern for Afghanistan.

Skilled Manpower

Training of the personnel is another major factor which ironically was ignored. How many people?--with what skills?--and what professions were needed in different phases of the development? These are some of the necessary tasks that a planned development requires. These needs obviously require drastic changes in national curricula from general academic to vocational oriented schools. Mass unemployment of high school graduates in the 1970s was an obvious evidence of miscalculation on the part of the economic planners of the 1950s and 1960s.

Light Industry

Improving the system of cultivation, reinforcing domestic industry and launching new light industry, based on agricultural products; these were some of the most essential needs for giving momentum to the national economy and as yet are untouched by the government developmental projects.

Since most of the Afghan exports are agricultural raw materials, a pre-manufacturing phase should have been considered in developing Afghan economy, rather than urbanization or industrialization. The pre-manufacturing phase of development would involve hundreds of small local industries, extension centers, canning centers, agricultural and vocational schools, agricultural marketing and management schools, irrigation projects, reforestation

TABLE 8

AFGHAN IMPORTS BY COMMODITY 1969⁶
(in millions of \$ U.S.)

Commodity	Value
Wheat	3.46
Sugar	0.95
Tea	9.48
Other foods	1.13
Tobacco	0.48
Petroleum products	3.09
Medicine	2.50
Other chemical products	2.47
Rubber tires and tubes	2.84
Cotton fabrics	2.77
Other fabrics	6.41
Other non-metallic mineral products	6.38
Metals and metallic manufacturers	2.63
Electrical machinery	2.08
Other machinery	1.95
Automobiles	0.93
Other motor vehicles	1.17
Bicycles	0.24
Other transport equipment	1.70
Used clothing	1.19
Foot wear	1.73
Miscellaneous manufactured articles	4.87
Other commodities	4.31
Plumbing, heating, lighting equipment	0.81
 Total Commodities Imports	 65.57
Loans and Grants Imports	 <u>63.16</u>
 Grand Total	 128.73

Source: Survey of Progress, 1970, Department of Statistics, Ministry of Planning, Kabul, Afghanistan, 1970.

⁶Louis Dupree, Afghanistan (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 628.

projects, veterinarian schools, insecticiding projects, extended branches of agricultural banks and small industry banks over the nation. And these would employ millions of skilled and non-skilled manpower. At this phase, the backbone or the foundation of the economy would have gotten enough momentum to make the nation ready for a second phase of launching industrialization. Public enthusiasm, support, confidence and trust make any leader succeed whether it is Napoleon, Hitler, Lenin or Mao Tse Tung. In contrast, in Afghanistan, development has always been imposed on the people as an order and command of their majesties and soon were resulted with the seduction of the public. Unbalanced, unorganized and unrealistic developmental programs with consumption of \$1,284 million in the 1950s and '60s, based on centralization, created a great distrust between the rulers in Kabul and the mass underemployed peasants in the provinces. Peasant resentment is strong and it will take generations before they trust the government and intelligentsia again. Peasants see the persons in government and the intelligentsia accumulated together in Kabul, a metropolitan city, forgetting that there is so much left to be done in the rural village life of Afghanistan. This problem, developed from an unhealthy economic planning, is not impossible, but surely will stay as the most challenging one for national unity and national progress in the 1980s as the foreign grants decrease and the interest on loans become due. Dupre, who among many other foreign

As Afghan youth find the content of the curricula irrelevant to their needs and interests, schools become more or less a burden imposed on them by the government. Students become more discouraged when they graduate and find that higher education and employment are mainly privileges for the noble children. Inequality of employment and educational opportunity based on kinship and connections with powerful officials in Kabul has created a drastic imbalance between the Kabul metropolitan city and the rest of the rural peasantry society.

Consequently, with the growing number of educated unemployed on one hand and over 90 percent illiterate population on the other, the dilemma of formal education for individual and societal development has become a paradox in Afghanistan.

The objectives of this study are to: (1) review the educational developments along with the social changes; (2) review the socio-political developments during the twentieth century; (3) identify and present current educational problems and short-comings with their sources and means; and (4) present a need-centered curricula model based on economic production for further changes.

Value and Significance of the Study

It is foreseen that this study which explores the educational trends along with social changes in Afghanistan will provide the curricula designers, community leaders,

scholars, after almost twenty years of intense study and writing of hundreds of articles on Afghanistan, expressed his concern about the current conflicts and crisis as follows:

No matter how one views the present economic patterns in Afghanistan, the outlook, at least at first, seems bleak. With most of the major infrastructure completed (which means a substantial drop in large construction projects), with few little resources capable of earning sizable sums of hard currency, with little or no increase in the area under cultivation or productivity per acre, with little success in fiscal reforms (budgetary deficit totaled 5 billion Afghanis in 1969), with foreign loans coming due, with few industrial or power plants functioning at 50 percent capacity, with the current fear oriented inertia in the government plus the inflexible tawildar (storekeeper accounting) system, Afghanistan gives any economists, socialist or free enterprise, the euphoria of a challenge. In many places outside Kabul (still out of touch with the rest of the country), conservative religious, ethnic and tribal leaders directly or indirectly resist government attempts at local developments, or, conversely, they become avid converts and condemn the government for doing too little within their districts. The tendency to demand more increases with each passing year.⁷

To summarize the socio-political and economical changes which resulted from the modernization programs of the 1950s and 1960s, the following conclusions are made:

1. Between 1950-1970, external financial and technical aid was handed to the Afghan ruling powers for development of the nation.
2. The external aid, due to the autocratic socio-political structure of Afghanistan and with

⁷ Louis Dupree, Afghanistan (New Jersey: Princeton University, 1973), pp. 623-624.

the Royal family as the decision-making body, was used to further strengthen the security of the ruling power rather than developing the productive resources of the peasant society.

3. National needs and priorities were not sought or identified in planning a national development program. Conversely, the needs, values and priorities of the ruling class minorities became the main objectives of the planned development.
4. The extremes between the "haves" and the "have nots" became sharper as social mobility was denied.
5. Lack of social mobility followed by a pattern of centralism, isolated the capital city from the rest of the nation.
6. To maintain and administer the above socio-political patterns, a tiny middle class bureaucrat was installed in Kabul and a few other urban cities.

Educational Developments

Another major flaw of the planned development program, besides ignoring the peasants, was the lack of coordination of economic development plans with school curriculum. Development in diverse sectors of the economy requires new skilled manpower with new professions for

processing and management. It is true that almost 60 percent of primary and secondary schools were established in the 1950s and 1960s. But school buildings and compulsory attendance of students and teachers do not guarantee that a new professionalized and competent manpower will be provided. One of the main advantages of planning is to forecast future needs and resources which will enable the planners to provide the required means and services.

In Afghanistan, educational development followed a unique pattern. That is, taking the schools and education for granted, without concentration on the type of knowledge, skill and aptitude exerted in curricula. This was a classic approach to modernization for mass illiterate agrarian societies. Without updating the philosophical purposes and the content of education, in regards to current and future needs, Afghan educational planners continued to build hundreds of schools. Especially between 1964 and 1973, during which five different cabinets came into power, expansion of schools became a means of political campaigns for the Ministers of Education and the demanding members of the Parliament which resulted with drastic drops of quality and increases of quantity. Afghan Ministers of Education, during these two decades, who were torn between their self-ambitions, public demands and the Monarch as supreme authority, found it awkward to change the school systems to meet the needs and demands of the students and the society as well.

At the same time, the emergence of student activism in Kabul University extended the circle of anti-government demonstrations to the secondary and even to the elementary school level. Therefore, while other sectors of the government made drastic plans and changes for economic development, Ministers of Education were forced by the public to have more school and by the Monarch to have quiet schools. To remain as Minister, they had to do both and they did so. Therefore, from 1952 to 1972 the student enrollment jumped from 105,885 to 770,450 and the number of schools went from 552 to 3,980. Thus, as the society evolves into the last quarter of the twentieth century, school curricula in Afghanistan still remains 97 percent academic and based on producing literacy.

Curriculum Planning and Societal Needs

Curriculum change and renewal in a centralized educational system, such as is Afghanistan's, are equal to a socio-political revolution. Experiences within and outside Afghanistan have shown that education does serve as a socio-political power; especially in the underdeveloped countries.' As mentioned before, the ruling powers of Afghanistan have a constant struggle with education and the educated. Thus, the quantity, quality and future of educational institutions directly depends on the changes of the central government.

The ruling power of Kabul has been keenly concerned and observant about what is thought and learned in the schools, as far as their own class interest and authority is concerned. That puts curriculum changes beyond the authority and power of the Ministers of Education or other curriculum planners and educators. Since there are no teachers or parents' association in Afghanistan, no opportunity is available for the public or educators to influence curriculum changes. Lack of free press, prohibits public opinion to express demands on school curriculum that it help meet the needs and problems of their lives. The option of the people, for the kind of education their children should receive, is based on a "take it or leave it" situation.

Curriculum and Textbook Project

In 1965, the Royal Government of Afghanistan signed a contract with the Teachers College, Columbia University Team under the financial assistance of the United States. On the base of that contract, mutual agreement was made for achieving the following objectives:

1. To design and prepare a modern curriculum for the primary schools in Afghanistan.
2. To compile and prepare a new series of textbooks and teachers' manuals in the following subject areas:
 - Religious studies
 - Social studies
 - Health education
 - Language Art skills
 - Science education
 - Mathematics
 - Practical arts

3. To establish a curriculum department in the Ministry of Education with qualified personnel for undertaking the professional duties of designing curriculum and writing the textbooks based on the ideals of the Afghan society, plus being relevant to the resources and level of qualification of the teachers in Afghanistan.

Adjustment of the national education goals to the curriculum objectives and transmission of those goals and objectives to the specific subject in the textbooks, under the supervision of a complicated bureaucracy where no one represents direct authority and responsibility was a difficult process that American and Afghan curriculum specialists experienced for over three years (1965-1969).

By 1970, a curriculum department with over fifty Afghan and American specialists, was well established with specific tasks and responsibilities in each subject area. By 1977, most of the 130 textbooks required for the primary school curriculum were either distributed or have reached the final process of publication. Some have already been used in the schools and the rest might be ready by the 1980s. The slow pace of production is mostly due to the internal bureaucracy, a pace shared by all foreign aid projects in Afghanistan. Over emphasis of the textbook review committees (appointed by the Ministers of Education), shortage of paper in the educational press, printing, distribution, and so forth, have been some of the delaying processes which mean it sometimes takes five years for a primary school textbook to get from the author to the student.

In any event, in the new textbooks, the coordination of different subject areas, literature, scope of vocabulary and sequence of the concepts developed for each grade, illustrations, size of letters and exercises have been designed more efficiently to make the reading more convenient and interesting to the child. Meanwhile, assignments and field activities are exerted in the textbooks so that the learning process is integrated with the environmental activities of the pupils.

A teacher's manual for each textbook is a totally new phenomenon. Manuals were introduced with the new textbooks to help guide the teachers to develop learning opportunities for the students more effectively. Due to the shortage of qualified teachers and libraries in the rural areas, the new teacher's guides include additional information in each subject area for the teachers and gifted children. Also, specific and clear guidelines for lesson plans, instructional activities and evaluation for each chapter are compiled in the teacher's manuals to assist the teachers and students as effectively as possible.

However, it should be emphasized that the new textbooks mostly represent the needs and values of the tiny upper and middle class in Kabul and other urban areas and are academic in nature. Peasant children in the rural areas may gain little from the knowledge, skill and attitudes expressed in the new textbooks that could help them

deal with the main problem of isolation and ignorance of the rural life.

Secondary curriculum still follows the traditional 1919-1929 curricula based on training white collar literate administrators. After forty years of production of administrators, the government bureaucracy has already been developed "humongously" in comparison to other technical and professional sectors. Between 1970 and 1977, around 11,000 high school graduates annually rushed toward Kabul for higher education and employment.

Kabul University, with approximately 10,000 student enrollment ratio and 14 different colleges, has the capacity to absorb an average of 2,000 freshman annually, most of whom come from noble schools in Kabul City. The rest are called (conkor zada), victims of conquer entrance exams. Mostly they wander in the corridors of different ministeries seeking employment. Soon they find out that the only option left is to go back to their provinces and start over again; mainly helping their parents by whatever means of production the family may have. Resentment, discouragement and destroyed ambitions of the youth with twelve years of education, is one of the bitter outcomes of Afghan education and employment conditions.

Lately, the emerging demands of labor markets with high pay in Iran, have lured a great number of the Afghan

educated youth. This factor, in its own turn, has created an emerging political tension between the two countries.

High rate of unemployment among the young educated and the need for national development are not well adjusted in the Afghan system of education. Development does not help the educational conditions and education does not facilitate development. Obviously, somebody, somewhere who controls and enforces such conditions, has to have some amount of interest in this social chaos. That identity is the power elite in Kabul who have kept the most efficient offices, schools, hospitals and recreational facilities within a few miles of their reach while the rest of the nation continues in the misery of the Middle Ages.

Few changes and reforms, here and there, occur with the changing of Ministers and/or cabinets, and mostly the limited changes vanish as successors arrive. Selfish political ambitions and ego trips interplay in most of the important positions in the Ministry of Education, rather than a collective stride for meeting the needs of the Afghan children. For example, not very long ago, an automatic promotion program for grades 1-3 was adopted during the reign of one Minister and then abolished by another; both without logic, scientific research or rationale. Another unfortunate example, but typical of the changes in the mid 1970s was the abolishment of the College of Education, which was the only higher education institution that offered pedagogical courses for teaching

and learning methods, as well as preparing field service training (student teaching programs).

Inequality of Educational Opportunity

Inequality in the socio-political institutions are followed by inequality in the educational institutions. Inequality of educational opportunity has different patterns, as far as the quality of education and the opportunity for higher education is concerned. In general, this inequality falls into two categories: inequality between social classes and inequality between the capital city and other provinces.

Inequality Between the Social Classes

Because of the aristocratic (in the urban areas) and the feudalistic (in the rural areas) social structure of Afghanistan, despite the fact that primary education has been considered compulsory since 1921, it is actually the children of the upperclass nobles, higher officials, landlords (Khans), religious leaders and tribal chiefs who could make it through Afghan schools. The children of the lower class, peasants and workers, because of the economic need in their family, either do not attend school or drop out of school. They either help their own family or work as servants for the upperclass families as baby sitters or some other light labor. According to the estimate of UNESCO specialists in the Ministry of Education in 1972 there were over two million school-age children in

teachers, supervisors, educational researchers, students, parents and other interested groups with a multidimensional perspective of formal education in Afghanistan. Specific value of this work lies in the following educational issues which are presented, analyzed and examined in relation to the educational and national development in Afghanistan:

(1) Historical review and presentation of Afghan educational heritage; (2) Description and presentation of phases of development of modern formal education; (3) Presentation of other research and analyses on the quality and quantity of formal education in Afghanistan by UNESCO, Louis Dupree, William Sayers and Marvin Brant; (4) Review and presentation of social, political and economic factors affecting the objectives, contents, capacity, organization and outcome of education; (5) Review and presentation of foreign aid as an external factor affecting social and educational changes in Afghanistan; and (6) Exploration and proposal of theories, models and methodologies for application of a need centered curricula in Afghanistan.

Finally, it is expected that this study will present identifiable points of interest for creating further concern among the educational planners, processors and those affected directly by the outcomes, to make Afghan schools environments where all participants meet their goals.

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN 26 PROVINCES OF AFGHANISTAN

Provinces	High School	Vocational School	College Degree Teachers	Foreign Teachers	School Library	School Laboratory	Gov't or Rented School Bldg.
Badakhshan	4	0	21	2	2	1	8
Badghis	2	0	5	0	2	0	9
Baghlan	7	1	23	1	5	5	31
Bamyan	-	4	0	6	0	3	7
Bulkh	6	3	111	0	14	37	29
Farah	3	1	42	0	5	7	24
Faryah	3	3	22	1	12	4	31
Ghazni	8	0	22	1	6	6	16
Ghor	3	0	2	0	4	0	34
Helmand	6	1	26	4	1	5	48
Herat	5	4	56	5	13	7	63
Jawzjan	4	0	27	0	5	4	16
Kabul	25	12	992	285	44	41	145
Kandahar	8	2	263	2	9	12	58
Kunduz	5	2	38	2	2	2	20
Laghman	12	0	99	2	6	6	18
Loghar	4	0	20	0	2	0	31
Nangarhar	12	3	86	2	10	5	60

TABLE 9 (Continued)

Provinces	High School	Vocational School	College Teachers	Degree Teachers	Foreign Teachers	School Library	School Laboratory	Gov't. Constructed or Rented School Bldg.
Nimroze	3	0	13	0	1	0	0	10
Paktia	12	3	38	1	1	0	0	43
Parwan	13	1	43	1	4	2	2	65
Samangan	2	0	16	0	5	4	4	10
Takhar	5	0	27	0	2	1	1	10
Uruzghan	2	0	9	0	5	2	2	9
Wardak	5	0	20	0	5	1	1	15
Zabul	2	0	5	0	0	1	1	7
Total for 25 Provinces	138	24	723	23	124	115	422	
Total for Kabul	25	12	992	285	44	41	145	
Grand Total	163	36	1,715	308	168	156	567	

Source: Educational Statistics of 1972, Department of Planning, Ministry of Education, Educational Press, Kabul, 1972, pp. 45-132.

Afghanistan, which only 155,959 were enrolled in the first grade. That means that over 90 percent of Afghan school-age children cannot receive a formal education. In the same year, the drop-out rate indicates that 28 percent of the students dropped out of school before graduation from high school. Thus, in the end, a small minority of middle and upper middle class children manage to graduate from high school. Class extremes become much sharper as high school graduates pursue higher education. Since the majority of the Afghan noble class lives in Kabul, the majority of the students at the college level come from Kabul City high schools.

Of course these issues require further empirical research, which unfortunately, due to the lack of free publication and sensitivity of the ruling power on educational issues, is not a popular method in the Afghan system of educational planning so far. The hierarchy of the student population, at different school levels, still could give a general idea of the extent of educational opportunity in Afghanistan.

Inequality Between the Capital and the Rest of the Nation

The development of Kabul City, based on centralization, has monopolized the best facilities for employment, education, health services, housing, transportation and communication as compared to the rest of the nation. This factor has made Kabul City a country within a country.

From the educational point of view, almost all institutions of higher education, the nation's best high schools, vocational schools and qualified teachers are located in Kabul. This problem has created an extremely crucial problem, as far as equality of educational opportunity is concerned.

Monopolization of high quality education, especially in regards to school buildings, instructional material and teaching personnel, makes mobility and success for other youth in the country more and more impossible. While millions of Afghanis are spent for the repair of one school in Kabul, in Ghore Province for 13,445 students, there are only two teachers who hold college degrees. To receive better education, a student has to go to Kabul. But students can transfer to Kabul schools only if their parents move to Kabul City. That leaves the option to the privileged class families who could afford to do so. Thus, directly and indirectly, foreign aid supported development and educational opportunity have been in the service of the privileged class rather than the productive elements of the society who are the mass peasants.

Monopolization of centralized curriculum also monopolizes the options and alternatives of school learning and opportunities for the provinces. For example, the provincial departments of education by all practical purposes have no impact, influence and option on the

Chart 4. The Pyramid of Educational Hierarchy
 (Based on the statistics of 1972).

*Source: Ehsa-eye-i-Maharif-i-Afghanistan (Educational Statistics of Afghanistan), Department of Planning, Ministry of Education Press, 1972, pp. 13 and 17.

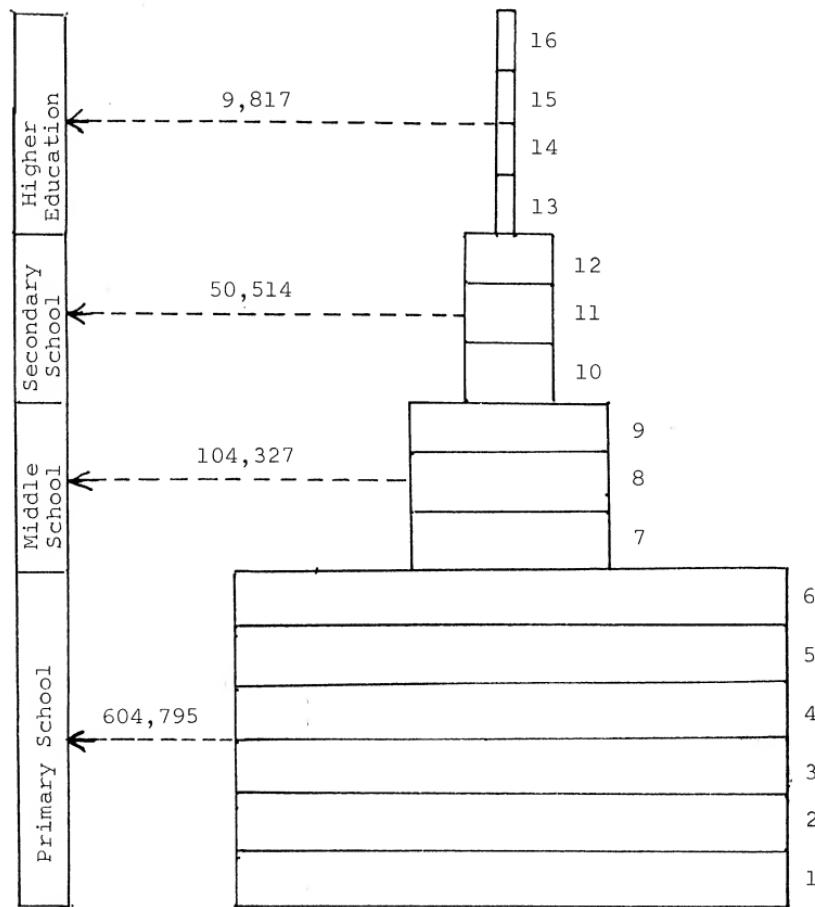


TABLE 10

COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES BETWEEN KABUL PROVINCE AND 25 OTHER PROVINCES IN AFGHANISTAN

Kabul Province		Other 25 Provinces		
		Average Per Province	Maximum	Minimum
Universities	2	0	0	0
High Schools	25	5	13	2
Vocational Schools	12	1	3	0
College Degree Teachers	992	46	236	2
Gov't. Constructed or rented school buildings	145	36	68	10
School Libraries	44	6	13	1
School Laboratories	41	3	12	0
Foreign Teachers	285	1.4	5	0
Area	4500Km ²	25,936Km ²	59,700	16,000Km ²
Population	1,330,000	630,252	1,136,400	125,400
Population Density per Km ²	295	37	163	3

Source: Statistics of 1972, Ministry of Education, Kabul, Afghanistan.

curriculum of the schools in their provinces. The same textbooks taught in the Kabul ~~University~~^{city} is read and taught in the most remote villages, no matter how much difference there is between their environmental needs and employment characteristics. Obviously, with poor school facilities, instructional personnel and evaluation system, the students in the rural areas cannot compete with Kabul high school graduates. Thus, the following conclusions are made regarding the inequality of educational opportunities in Afghanistan.

1. Because of the interests of the ruling power, the planned developments served mainly the needs and interests of the privileged class of Afghan society.
2. Because of the unhealthy development of the socio-political institutions, educational institutions also lost their effectiveness to bring national development and national unity.
3. Because of the centralization of power in Kabul, based on class interests, ethnic favoritism and autocracy, the government developmental plans and the foreign aid failed to give a momentum to a self-generating national economy and production.

CHAPTER V

RELATED RESEARCH

Introduction

Socio-political repression and the conflict between the ruling powers and the intelligentsia has made empirical and other objective scientific research and publicity in Afghanistan equal to impossible. Aside from limited but manipulating government reports, other critical and analytical publications in Afghanistan are mainly prepared by foreign scholars and published abroad. Therefore, in order to present a multi-dimensional perspective on education and social changes in Afghanistan, a series of articles, books and publications were reviewed in this study, from which the analysis of three social scientists and one publication by UNESCO were more specific in regard to the problems and issues discussed in previous chapters and are presented in this part.

Analysis by UNESCO

Growth and Change: A Perspective of Education in Asia

This is a study dealing with educational developments, problems and new phases of educational changes in

Asia. The study was made possible by UNESCO from the Conference of Ministers of Education and those responsible for Economic Planning in Asia, held at Singapore on May 31 through June 7, 1971.

. . . the conference reviewed the progress of education in the preceding decades and studied the perspectives of future developments. It saw earlier development as giving way to a new phase which will be dominated by the need to reform and reorient education in order to respond to the quickening pace of change.¹

The study indicates that during the last two or three decades a dynamic progress has been achieved in educational institutions in Asia. According to the study, despite the domination of traditional institutions, a new demand and aspiration for education has become a striking feature in the developing countries of Asia. However, the demands are leading to a "broadening (of) social objectives, reduction of economic and social inequalities, maximization of employment opportunities. . ." which altogether is bringing the Asian countries to a new phase of development and change. The new phase requires reformation and reorientation of education to meet the emerging new needs and social conditions of the developing countries.

In this study, different countries of Asia have been categorized into three main groups based on their

¹Growth and Change, UNESCO, Place de Fontenoy, Paris, 1972, p. 3.

common level of developmental stages and income per capita.

Group A: Afghanistan, Laos, Nepal

Group B: Burma, India, Indonesia, Iran, the Kmer Republic, Mongolia, Pakistan, Republic of Vietnam

Group C: Republic of China, Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Republic of Sri Lanka, Thailand.²

Educational Expenditure per Capita of Total Population³

Group	<u>1960</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1968</u>
A	\$0.43	\$0.81	\$1.15
B	\$1.29	\$1.80	\$1.83
C	\$5.69	\$5.34	\$7.60

No specific indications of educational problems are made for each specific country. The study has a general approach on educational changes and perspectives of Asian countries. However, specific analysis has been made in regards to common problems in groups A, B, and C countries in Asia. The following findings from this study clearly are modifiable with Afghan educational conditions mentioned in Chapter IV.

Social Aspect

Although the demand and aspiration for education and modernization is increasing among the traditional

²Ibid., p. 21.

³Ibid., p. 21.

This research is the first attempt by a native to study the educational changes in Afghanistan from different dimensions concerning the internal and external elements of change.

The author's seven years of experience as a textbook writer, curriculum designer, editor, teacher and supervisor in the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan are reflected in this study which will provide the readers with realistic insights concerning education and social changes in Afghanistan.

The identifications, analyses and conclusions of this study could serve as incentives among the (pro and con) viewers in Afghanistan to initiate empirical research into the educational system of Afghanistan.

Limitation and Delimitation of the Study

This study has not attempted to be a history of Afghanistan or a review of specific achievements of some of the departments of the Ministry of Education. It studies education as a change element in a national setting. It studies the growth and impact of education on social, political and economical institutions and their counter influence on characterizing the quality and quantity of education. This involves a review of seventy years of struggle and change among the conflicting social elements in Afghanistan.

institutions of many Asian countries, conflicting socio-political systems still are molding the growth and effectiveness of education to bring national cohesion and development.

Some countries in Asia are multilingual and multinational. The role of education is seen as vitally important. Where educational opportunities are unequally distributed or the education system is segmented into conflicting interests, education cannot operate as a cohesive influence.⁴

This factor has created significant gaps of educational opportunity between girls and boys, urban and rural, ethnic groups and different regions of the country. These disparities tend to increase at each higher stage of the educational pyramid.

In most countries of the region, over 70% of the enrollment at the tertiary level is accounted for by students from the urban sections. This not only indicates restricted access to education, but also points to the fact that the selection mechanisms in the education systems tend to work in favour of particular social and occupational groups, and fail to draw reserves of talent and ability into the educational process on a wide scale.⁵

Economic Aspect

The study indicates that in some countries in Asia, education still has a limited scope based on pure literacy and general academic curriculum. The rigidity toward new alternatives, coordinated with the new needs and demands, is hindering education to serve for national economic

⁴Ibid., p. 35.

⁵Ibid., p. 33.

development. The balance between the content of education and the world of work is vitally important for national economy and development.

Proposals

Green Revolutions for development of the agrarian countries are keenly important and educational systems in Asia need to be aware of this fact and become flexible in their policies to adjust their school learnings as the national economy reaches different phases of development.

Alternative vocational oriented curricula, based on realistic data, are some of the proposals made in this study. The systematic follow-up activities, which require readjustments of administration, supervision, and evaluation systems, are some of the other proposals of the study.

Analysis of Louis Dupree

Among the western social scientists, Louis Dupree, an American anthropologist, is probably the leading researcher and social analyst who in the last twenty years has opened a new corridor to the study of modern Afghanistan. His masterpiece is Afghanistan, 760 pages, published in 1973 and is undoubtedly the richest and most scientific source on Afghanistan published as of today.

In contrast to most of the western authors, who mostly labeled life in Afghanistan from an egotistic and pragmatistic comparison to the western industrial world,

Dupree has approached Afghan issues from a universal scientific point of view. He has studied social, political and economical issues in Afghanistan as they have developed and identified other attributory internal and external factors as realistically as possible. Therefore, the contribution of twenty years of work, especially in his book Afghanistan, is not only valuable and informative pertaining to Afghans, but to anybody, anywhere, interested in knowing about Afghanistan.

Dupree's analysis on problems and prospects of Afghanistan is diverse, but deep rooted. He views education and literacy as a cultural tool rather than the answer for a social problem, and it all depends on which elements of the social structure possesses or has the potential to maintain it. For example, he says, "Germans under Nazis were certainly a most literate state."⁶ In the case of Afghanistan, he stated that universal literacy might increase ethnocentrism and members of other nationalities will begin to realize how much they have been exploited. This might lead to civil war and a demand for independence if rapprochement cannot be reached.⁷ Therefore, Dupree searched for the answer within the Afghan

⁶Louis Dupree, Afghanistan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 659.

⁷Ibid., p. 660.

culture and he believed that unless problems are adjusted and managed by Afghans in Afghanistan, solutions could not be imported from abroad.⁸ In general, Dupree's perspectives fall into three areas.

Social

Dupree believed that the majority of the people in Afghanistan, due to the attack of conquerors and government suppressions, have developed an inward looking social behavior. Walled-in villages and walled-in houses in Afghanistan show an intense sense of insecurity and public need for protection. This great fear from outsiders has created a strong dependency on kinship, regionalism and tribalism. He wrote:

Sustained relations with the outside world have seldom been pleasant, for outsiders usually come to extract from, not bringing anything into the village. Items extracted, included rent, taxes, conscripts for armies, women for harems of the rich and powerful . . . As a consequence, most villages simply cannot believe that the central government, provincial government, or individual local or foreign technicians want to introduce permanent reforms. . . . Most villages listed in governmental records of the developing world as "developed" have never been revisited or rechecked and the "development" exists only on paper.⁹

Dupree described the government officials as an "outward looking" group, in the sense that they look away from the village--not toward it. Thus, he wrote:

⁸Ibid., p. 661.

⁹Ibid., p. 249.

They prefer to remain in the national capital and reap the benefits of their literate status: good government or business job, social prestige, extensive foreign contact. In addition, when promotions, choice assignment, or overseas boondoggles come up, those at the center usually benefit, not the officials assigned to the subprovince district, and subdistrict levels. The key action component, motivation remains only partly solved.¹⁰

As a result, he concluded:

The dominant inward-looking, self-perpetuating society tends to breed and perpetuate its own unpleasant environment. The great mass of civil servants remain perpetuators, not innovators.¹¹

Political

Favoritism and nepotism, based on ethnic and tribal connections affecting the criteria for reward and occupation is viewed as a major leak in the power structure of Afghanistan, by Dupree.¹² In regard to the political inequality and power distribution, monopolized by the Royal family in the early 1970s, Dupree indicated that although most of the ministers try to delegate authority for making decisions, still there are only a few who exercise the decision making powers. He commented:

Today young Afghans returning home with foreign degrees find no room at the top and often little enough in the middle, so many low rank appointments in the various ministries. They in turn, channel their resentments into growing political activity, primarily leftist in orientation. Favoritism and nepotism, corollaries of a tribal system super-imposed on a government and long rampant in Afghanistan remain widespread.¹³

¹⁰Ibid., p. 251.

¹¹Ibid., p. 657.

¹²Ibid., p. 658

¹³Ibid., p. 657.

According to Dupree, monopolization of political mobility on one hand and lack of integration of education into development programs on the other, tripled by centralization, has created a group of misfits in Kabul who could easily slip to revolutionaries in the future. Aside from political consequences, he is concerned that this factor might cause the educational institutions to evolve into a "self defeating" institution if the decision makers would not take serious action.

Economical

Because over 90% of the Afghan population spend most of their life in basic food production, either agriculture, herding or a combination of both, Dupree had shown quite a concern in this matter. More specifically, his emphasis was on the unrealistic economic planning of the 1950s and 60s and their ignorance of the rural life in Afghanistan. Budgetary deficit, miscalculation of declining foreign aid and the low level of national economic production, are some of the most critical economic crises affecting Afghanistan in the near future.

Government economic planners continue to stay ahead of reality and, often, preoccupied with visions of the future, forgetting the facts of the present. Recurring deficits, caused by unrealistic fiscal policies, plague the budgeteers and foreign advisors in the Ministry of Planning and elsewhere. Foreign loans are coming due, and both internal revenue and exports must be increased considerably or the Afghans will find themselves in a financial quagmire.¹⁴

¹⁴Ibid., p. 661.

Proposals

1. Internal efforts for developments must become intensified, as far as training competent technical personnel is considered, and Afghanistan should become less and less dependent on foreign specialists and technicians, as well as loans and grants.¹⁵

2. "The Afghan government must pay attention to its students who, having tasted their first political blood, can be counted on to be heard from again and again."¹⁶

3. ". . . the government must in addition, be able to cope with growing influence from the left."¹⁷

4. Mass rural population needs to be motivated and involved in national decisions if the government truly looks forward for development and national unity.¹⁸

5. The government and the intelligentsia must negotiate and interact among themselves, especially the intelligentsia must change their stagnant position and serve actively as a liaison between the government and the nonliterate masses.¹⁹

¹⁵Ibid., p. 661.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 662.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

Analysis by William Sayres

William Sayres, Social Science professor at Columbia University, served for over five years in the Afghan Ministry of Education as curriculum advisor. Old Trails and New Paths in Education was the title of his article published in Chapter XII of Afghanistan in the 1970s, edited by L. Dupree and Linette Albert.

Sayres, reviewing the traditional heritage of Afghan culture and the new educational establishments, has given a reasonable picture of Afghan educational system and certain developments affecting its future.

Problems

Sayers wrote that the statistics of educational developments along with a few "show case" schools in Kabul city are quite impressive when one approaches to study the Afghan system of education. But in reality, Afghanistan in the 1970s is facing some serious educational problems.²⁰

Educational Material

Sayers indicated that the "sheer plant of education" in Afghanistan in its totality is impoverished as far as school buildings, supplies and teaching aids are concerned.²¹ Except for a few schools in Kabul, the

²⁰ William Sayres, "Old Trails and New Paths in Education, in Afghanistan in the 1970s, ed. Louis Dupree (New York: Praeger Publishers, Inc., 1974), p. 190.

²¹ Ibid.

rest of the schools in the nation do not have heating facilities which make teaching and learning in the classroom uncomfortably cold toward the end of the year.²²

Quality of Education

Instruction has been based exclusively on rote learning and memorization with too much attention directed to narrowly academic and formalistic teaching in a socially arid drillmaster tradition, and too little attention given to realistic preparation for productive life in Afghan society. In effect, what pupils largely are being asked to do is learn certain signals made by the teacher and to repeat them at examination time, without any significant effort to explore their meaning or test their capabilities for use in real life.²³

Originality, creativity, empirical inquiry, and critical thinking are not qualities likely to be fostered in the classroom.

Sayres analyzed that the prime purpose of schools, teachers and the students are concentrated on the techniques and ways which leads to gaining a high school or a college certificate rather than developing certain skills, knowledge and competencies required for productive adjustment of the students to their environment. This factor is based on the general functions of socio-political institutions in Afghanistan where the key to success is to play certain roles and techniques for fulfillment of the demand of those in power;²⁴ no matter

²²Ibid., p. 190.

²³Ibid., p. 191.

²⁴Ibid., p. 191.

how irrelevant those roles might be to achievement and accomplishment of the tasks that an individual or a student originally has assigned for.

Schools and Economic Planning

Sayres indicated that the socio-economical implications of education in Afghanistan is more critical and needs serious attention.

The archaic excessively academic and rote memorization quality of the "contemporary" school learning and teaching has not been attuned to the social and economic needs of the country striving to achieve a better life for its citizens and to cope with the complexities of a rapidly changing world.²⁵

In regard to educational assistance that Afghanist-
tan has been receiving and their misappropriation and
allocations by government planners of the 1950s and 1960s,
Sayres referred to an article by A. Zeithlim, published
in January, 1973 in Post, New York, which commented on
the new Istiglal High School building subsidized by
France at an estimated cost of \$2 million dollars²⁶
(100,000,000 Afghans). The article indicate that such
projects are limited responsive and costly to educational
needs of Afghanistan.²⁷

Proposals:

1. A sustained development is possible if
identified within the natural and human

²⁵Ibid., p. 195.

²⁶Ibid..

²⁷Ibid.

There is no limitation on the type of readers because it has been the author's intention to identify and articulate the individual and societal needs and interests in such a way that those who are not involved directly with schools may find it as interesting as should students, teachers, parents, educational planners and supervisors.

Methodology

To accumulate more specific data necessary for different chapters, a series of literature and research have been reviewed from Ball State University Library, Muncie Public Library, Indianapolis Public Library and Indiana University Library along with the author's personal material and documents brought from Afghanistan. It needs to be emphasized that there are sufficient numbers of publications and resources on Afghanistan in these libraries, but it is the author's understanding that as far as validity, accuracy and depth of research are concerned, the twenty years of hard work, research and publication by Professor Louis Dupree on Afghanistan has provided enormous resources on current problems and prospects of Afghan society. Other social scientists, such as Gregorian, Poulada, Newel and Griffiths have also published some of the most valuable resources, books and articles on Afghanistan which were extremely useful to this study.

- Educational content (curricula) should have modifiable components adjustable to the social and natural needs of the child and his environmental conditions.
- Since over 80 percent of the population make their living through agricultural production (farming and animal husbandry and the light industry related to agricultural production), school curricula should be changed from entirely literacy and academic orientation to also include vocational so the new generation develops employable and productive skills and potentials.

It is hoped that the identification of problems, the analysis of the causes and effects of the problems in relation to the social conditions, and finally, that the alternatives presented in this study create enough concern among the decision-makers, teachers, parents, and students in Afghanistan to stimulate further inquiry in readjusting the educational organization and content into a system that not only the elite children but the frustrated and restless peasant and underemployed population could also play effective and productive roles in their individual and social lives.

A STUDY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGES
IN AFGHANISTAN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COUNCIL
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SPECIALIST IN EDUCATION

by

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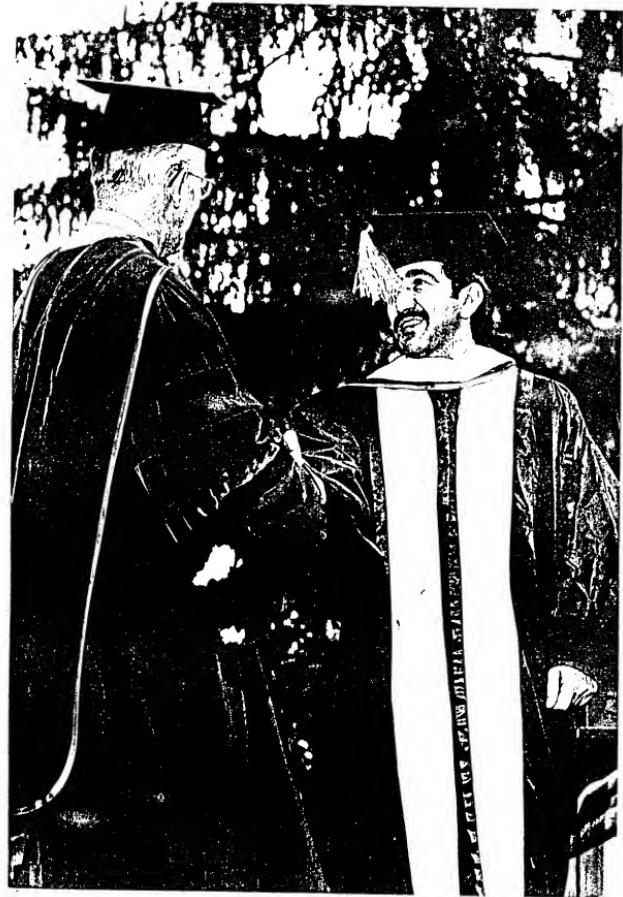
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EDUCATION & SOCIAL CHANGES IN AFGHANISTAN

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGES
IN AFGHANISTAN

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A STUDY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGES
IN AFGHANISTAN

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The purpose of this study was to examine the 70 years' experiment of formal education sponsored by the state in relation to national economic development and improvement of conditions of life of the individuals in Afghanistan. Considering the functions of education in the society, the study was planned to find out to what extent formal educational institutions of Afghanistan served as cultural tools for maintaining social control by the ruling authorities and to what extent educational institutions served as elements of change and development.

The study was based on the theory that, in the presence of social inequality, formal education and other communicational media ~~can~~ serve as cultural tools of the ruling powers for controlling the potentials of the subjects to fit and adjust to the present norms rather than providing a learning opportunity where the subjects could develop effective and productive potentials, skills and competencies necessary for approaching current problems, improving conditions, and moving toward more legitimacy, equality and autonomy.

Education as means of social control and social change were described and presented. Functions of

individuals, their social and natural needs, functions of society and the natural needs and motives for constant changes of the social institutions were analyzed and identified. Using the above functions along with the findings of the related literature reviewed in the study as criteria for the assessment of problems, it was discovered that,

1. Social inequality did exist in Afghanistan during the period that the study covers.
2. After the assassination of King Nadir and his brother by Kabul students in 1933 until the end of the Monarchy in 1972, formal educational institutions did serve as a cultural tool for controlling the new generations.
3. By monopolizing the press and publicity, the Royal government did control the communication media and suppress public demands and reactions.
4. Parents, teachers, and students did not have influence or choice in educational objectives, policies, planning, distribution, and the school curricula.
5. Kabul City, where most of the elite live, still have more educational opportunities, qualified personnel and better facilities, in their schools than the rest of the schools in the nation.
6. During the 1950s and 1960s, when economic plans were launched and Afghanistan received extensive amounts of foreign aid; financially and technically; urbanization and industrialization were the focus instead of concentrating on Afghan domestic economy which was based on agricultural production.
7. Educational programs and organizations were not articulated and adjusted with economic reforms.
8. Unemployment among the educated and low income capita in the 1970s proved that Afghan per

economy and education have reached a stagnant point.

9. Serious institutional and educational changes are necessary for proper functioning of the economic and educational system in order to facilitate meeting the needs and problems of Afghan society.

In order to meet the above needs and problems a series of recommendations supported by the related research were presented:

Economic Development:

In order to give momentum to economic development:

- Economic production should become self-generating which means that the consumption should be drawn from profit not from initial capital for investment.
- Domestic resources and manpower should be utilized rather than dependency on foreign aid.
- Reward and profit should be distributed in such a way to motivate the productive manpower. Without equality of work with reward the productive manpower would resent the exploitation and may not involve their full potentials in production which will affect the quality and quantity of national production.
- Reward and punishment should have pluralistic perspectives and criteria rather than being based on ethnic, kinship or other social stratifications.

Educational Changes

- Education should ~~meet~~ be based on the natural and social needs of man for survival and coexistence.
- Educational objectives should be based on individual and societal needs and problems rather than mainly focussing on the survival and the domination of the ruling powers.